National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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A LESSON.

Several Republican journals—fervid advocates of "equal rights to all" last Summer, and not less hasty "yielders" of their convictions "to the judgment of the great Union party," this Spring—have again been taught an eight days' lesson. The new-found zeal of one finds expression thus:

From the N. Y. Tribune.

Dreadful as were the riots at New Orleans, there is a dread which they suggest far greater. Those scenes of blood and death have a more terrible significance when we reflect that they were not exceptional, that they too faithfully express the spirit of a strong class at the South, and its Northern friends, and that they are the result of a national policy. We should attach little importance to a single outbreak if there was reason to believe it was due to local causes, but the conviction is forced upon us that New Orleans means the whole South, as Presidentially reconstructed, and we shudder to think of the future.

When the war ended, and the South, prostrate on the battle-field, lifted up its hands and implored mercy of its conquerors, we, too, pleaded in its behalf. That for four years it had fought against the Union with a ferocity which aliens might have been ashamed of; that it had imposed upon the country a vast debt which generations unborn would be heavily taxed to pay; that it had forfeited every right it formerly possessed—all this we remembered, but we did not forget that on our part we had fought and conquered these enemies to keep them forever our countrymen. To retain the Southern States in the Union the war had been waged and won, and, not alarmed by the fable of the man who warmed the viper in his bosom, we desired the government to win the South to the Union by a magnanimous pardon, rather than to bind it by chains of fear. Then we urged universal amnesty, and with it, with equal fervor, universal suffrage. The first alone has raised the enemies of the Union to their ancient power; it has given back the whip into their hands, and already in New Orleans they have grasped the sword. But what has it done for the friends of the Union in the South? The white men are in a powerless minority, and the loyal blacks, though nominally free, are naked and defenceless, without a voice in the government, abandoned to the very men who began the war to maintain and extend the slave system. This may be called mercy, but it is cruelty. It is punishment to the loyal; it is reward to the traitors. The seed thus sown has sprung up in poison flowers over all the South, and ripened in bloody fruit in the riots of New Orleans.

Universal suffrage would have destroyed the cause of all quarrels. When the war ended, the South expected impartial suffrage to be required, and would gladly have agreed to it. Too gladly would nine-tenths of the leading rebels have purchased amnesty by this simple concession, for who would have thought that in common justice the government would have given less reward to its true and consistent friends; would have required less for its own honor and the interests of humanity. When it culpably failed to insist that the right of franchise to all loyal men should be the precedent of forgiveness to traitors, it surrendered all the moral and nearly all the legal powers it possessed over the rebel States. It abandoned every position of strength, till, to-day, it stands as the apologist for rebellion, and the defender of rebels. But it has not discouraged the friends of impartial suffrage, nor caused them to abandon their work. It never will; we are resolved to have it, and the New Orleans massacres are the strongest proof that it is the only hope for the restoration of the South and the peace of the Union.

The Louisiana Convention had broken no law, or if they had they were willing to have the case adjudged in the courts. But the mere suspicion of an effort to obtain the franchise for the blacks, penceful as it was, aroused the worst passions of slavery, and assured that the government would not interfere, the mob resolved to make a bloody example of the reformers and teach them that such a Convention could never be held in any Southern State. This is the result of pardoning traitors without enfranchising Union men. Had the freedmen been given the right to vote, its exercise might have led to disturbances at the polls, similar to the partisan fights which have always occurred; but this general conspiracy to establish a Reign of Terror throughout the South could never have been organized. Now, there are but two courses, either we must forever submit to see the rebel power dominant, and the loyal blacks reduced to the condition of serfs, or we must continue to demand their rights. To the disgrace we can never yield; never, never was the duty of working for universal rights more sacred. We have tried a policy which has dishonored the nation; it has murdered the Union men of Louisiana; it has proved to be the parent of revolution and death. Let us adopt the true policy. Let us combine the two principles of Universal Amnesty and Impartial Suffrage, and we establish Peace.

It is hard to be in patience with these wordy scholars, who are ever occupied in learning and proclaiming "lessons," but who continue to act as if those lessons had never existed. Of the N. Y. *Tribune* may be truthfully said, in its own language: "When it culpably failed to insist that the right of franchise to all loyal men should be the precedent of forgiveness to traitors, it surrendered all the moral power it possessed," for good, over the Republican party and its representatives in Congress. If it is indeed "resolved to have" impartial suffrage, let it "adopt the true policy"—the only one consistent with its professions—of supporting, and advising the people to support, *no candidate* for Congress who is not pledged to immediate and fundamental reconstruction on the negro suffrage basis.

—In the West, they are yet hampered with the word "if" and the "Constitutional Amendment:"

From the Chicago Tribune.

Whenever the Republican party has proclaimed, through its conventions, its journals, or its statesmen, the principle of manhood suffrage, it has been met with the cry of "War of Races." The massacres of Memphis and New Orleans prove that a war of races already exists—that is, an unprovoked war of the white race against the black. The streets of both those cities have been bathed in the blood of loyal men, in the absence of any Congressional action looking toward negro suffrage. The question is now solemnly presented to Congress and the people, whether, admitting that there is any foundation for the forebodings of Johnson and Doolittle, impartial suffrage could make the matter any worse. If a man is to be killed, and his wife ravished, and his children roasted alive in his own house, according to the Memphis style of reconstruction, might he not as well die with the ballot in his hand as without it? Better we think. It seems probable that *the South will not accept* the mild terms offered to them in *the Constitutional Amendment*. *If* they do not, it will be the clear duty of the present Congress to lay the axe at the root of Andrew Johnson's provisional governments, and reorganize them on the basis of impartial suffrage. There will be no war of races then.

The words we have printed in small capitals, above, clearly express the manner in which Congress must go to work if it will save anything from the wreck of its Lost Opportunity. But not *on the condition* named in the sentence preceding. Immediate and unconditional must this work be, if it is at all to be. Now let the Chicago *Tribune* suit deed to word, and hold its congressional nominees strictly to the pledge of the "axe" and "root"—without conditions!

—Journals even, long given over to Johnsonism, have snuffed the approaching whirlwind:

N. Y. Evening Post.

The loyalists of Louisiana are by this time, probably, convinced that they ought to have taken Mr. Lincoln's advice in 1864, and established impartial suffrage. They have probably discovered, what will yet be demonstrated to the loyalists in every Southern State, and to the whole country, that the love of Union, the hatred for rebellion, is found chiefly among the laboring class, and that while white suffrage may give the majority in every Southern State to the lawless and rebellious politicians, impartial suffrage will show a large majority of the people everywhere to be in favor of Union, law and liberty. * * If Congress had chosen to adopt a constitutional amendment guaranteeing, in the name of the nation, not only equal rights, but equal suffrage, it would need only another New Orleans riot to gain the vote of every Northern State for such a measure.

The lawless class in the Southern States seem to be engaged in a deliberate attempt to make free government impossible there; let them not go too far; let them remember that the patience of those who supported the Union when they were in arms to destroy it, has a limit, and that there is only one thing sure—whatever may happen to rebels and traitors, whatever inconvenience they have to be put to, or whatever severity of punishment may be required to hold them in awe, the American people are determined justice shall be done, liberty—equal and impartial liberty—shall be maintained, and equal rights shall be enforced on every foot of our territory.

A harvest of such marvelous fruit sprung, for a time, from the bloody seed of New Orleans; but the *Post* is again willing to surrender everything by unconditionally admitting the rebels to Congress, and submitting the suffrage question to a majority of Southern slave-drivers and Northern slave-catchers!

THE "PARTY ISSUE" AND THE "SITUATION."

When Abolitionists point out the absurdity of the Republican party's going into a canvass without a living, honest, acknowledged issue—sailing under neutral and false colors—the cry of "fanatic" is raised. Progressive men, demanding of the self-styled "progressive" party of the country an outspoken, faithful adherance to progressive principles, are denounced, at best, as unpractical dreamers; while the nation is steered, by its practical statesmen, headlong into such "situations" as the article quoted below, from the Detroit *Post*, describes. But let a witness, untainted by even a suspicion of "Abolition fanaticism, be heard on

THE PARTY ISSUE.

From the Springfield Republican, Aug. 11.

We see it stated in a Republican paper that the issue made up between the parties is "whether the Union shall be restored upon a just basis, with the rights of all sections and all citizens secured by impartial laws, or whether it shall be restored as it was before the war, with one class of citizens permanently outlawed, and all civil and political power lodged in the hands of a privileged class." Pity 'tis that this is not true. Both parties propose that the Union shall be restored with one class of citizens disfranchised. The difference is that one party exacts from the privileged class a reduction of their own political power as a condition of being allowed to perpetuate the disfranchisement of the other class, and the other party insist that they shall have this privilege without any such loss of power. There is something, a great deal in fact, to choose between the two, upon this issue.

Another issue not authoritatively made up, but prominently put forward in latitudes favorable to it, may be stated in this way: Congress did not dare to make the true issue just yet, but re-elect the members and see if they do not decree that no Southern State shall return to the Union until it has given suffrage to the negro. This may be called the inferential or implied issue, to be used in the Fall elections in the districts where the people favor equal suffrage. In districts opposed to equal suffrage the Constitutional Amendment is exclusively the issue. All this is pitiable, but true.

The Democrats have the credit at least of making a square issue, and the same everywhere. It is well expressed in the resolutions of the late Democratic State Convention in Maine, as follows:

"That the war having ended by the surrender of the rebel armies, the people of the South are subject only to such penalties as the Constitution of our common country, and the laws passed in pursuance of it, may prescribe, and are entitled to all the rights which that Constitution ensures to all the people of all the States."

There is no mistaking this.

ACCEPTING THE SITUATION.

From the Detroit Post, Aug. 11.

But the butcheries of Union men committed by the rebel mob at New Orleans, and the subsequent proceedings instituted by rebel grand juries and judges against the victims who escaped death, mark a new phase in the development of our political situation. While in previous cases the military officers of the United States, either with or without orders, stood upon the side of the loyal men as against the rebels, our military commanders are now directed to report for orders to just those persons under whose instigation and leadership the Union men have been murdered and mobbed, and under whose auspices they are to be subjected to further persecution under color of legal proceedings. Such are the directions issued by the President. Thus we see the rebels sitting in judgment over the Union men, with the bayonets of the Union army at their command. This is the characteristic feature of the situation as it now stands.

The Democrats and Johnson indorsers have much to say about the necessity of restoring the rebels to their full rights and privileges because they "accept the situation." Can anybody tell us why they should not accept the situation as it now is? Is not the situation such that even the vilest and bitterest of traitors will accept it with gladness? What more can the most vindictive and bloodthirsty of rebel asks than that the Union people of the South should be put at his mercy, and that he should have even the bayonets of the National government at his disposal to aid him in the work of oppression, persecution and revenge? Truly, that the traitors should eagerly accept such a situation is not wonderful. The situation is such that only a traitor or a renegade can willingly accept or approve it. But if the loyal people of the United States should so debase themselves as to tamely accept so infamous a situation, instead of repudiating it with indignation and contempt, then we would confess that we had althgether too high an opinion of the sense of honor of the American nation.

The admissions made by the Republican press in the following article, as to the retrogressive effects of Republican "policy" during the year of reconstruction, tally so well with the warnings and predictions uttered by the Anti-Slavery press throughout that year, that we add this to the lamentation of the *Post:*

PROGRESS BACKWARD.

From the St. Louis (Mo.) Democrat.

The North accepted the battle made by the South, and fought it through to the glorious end—for what? Not for a restoration of the Union as it was under Pierce and Buchanan—a pro-slavery, unjust, and Constitution-defying Union, under which freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of political opinion and action were suppressed by mob-law in one section of the country. Not for that! Not a dollar would have been given, not a soldier would have fired a shot, not a single hero would have willingly offered his life a sacrifice to restore that state of things. The issue had been fairly made in the elections, the Republican party demanding no extension of slavery, Free Speech, Free Press, and Free Men—in a word, the rights that the Constitution guarantees. On that issue the Republican party elected Abraham Lincoln by a fair vote of the people, and a Congress to sustain him. Then the South, not willing to submit to the decision of the ballot-box and to the faithful enforcement of the Constitution, went to war. The rebels were whipped, and their institution of slavery destroyed in the contest. Now they ask to be restored to political privileges, and profess to accept the situation, and the people are watching their behavior, to see if it bears out their professions.

Just at present, the facts go terribly against them. The rebels seem just as unwilling as ever to obey the Constitution. They seem resolved to set at defiance the popular vote of 1860, the verdict of battle, to which they appealed, and the righteous demands of the National Congress. * * The sooner the Southern people accept that "situation" and act accordingly, the better it will be for them.

As yet, they do not accept it at all. The Constitution guarantees freedom of peaceable assembly. But the *National Intelligencer* remarks that a Convention of Southern Union men would not be tolerated in any Southern city, and, as if to prove the assertion, a Convention in the most loyal city of all the South has been mobbed, and its most conspicuous leaders murdered. The Constitution guarantees freedom of speech, but every sane man knows that if Senator Sumner or Representative Stevens were to attempt to speak in any Southern State, unless guarded by soldiers, he would be mobbed. The Constitution guarantees freedom of the press, but the Southern postmasters (without rebuke from Andrew Johnson) take from the mails and destroy such of the Northern papers as they please—just as in the days of Pierce and Buchanan.

With all this, will the Detroit *Post* and the St. Louis *Democrat* learn the "lesson" taught in another column by the New York and Chicago *Tribune* and the New York *Evening Post*, and will they follow it better than those false guides have done?

DELINQUENCIES.

The *North American* (Philadelphia), a Republican journal of the very mild and moderate sort, thus reflects on the late Kentucky elections, and other utterances of growing rebel ascendancy:

"In Kentucky, as in Maryland and Missouri, the Union party committed the grave error of refusing to give the suffrage to the freedmen as an offset to the rebel element. The negrophobia was so strong that these men risked their own political ascendancy rather than do an act of justice to the unfortunate blacks. In Kentucky the 'Union' party generally *aided their own defeat* by refusing to disfranchise the rebels, while at the same time denying suffrage to the blacks, and their surprise at the swift result is rather entertaining.

"From Maryland we have recent advices which lead us to expect a similar result. Had the hide-bound Union men of Maryland only been wise in time, and given the suffrage to freedmen, they might with impunity have allowed all the rebels to vote.

"In Missouri, the Republican party, though more thoroughly wide awake, seems doomed to fall a victim to similar causes. It is the intention of the rebels to surround the polls in all the districts where they have a majority, and compel the officers to receive all the votes they offer. In all probability, they might succeed without this, for the returned rebels are very numerous. The colored suffrage would have prevented the success of the reaction, but was refused when the opportunity offered, and now it is too late.

"In Arkansas, Gov. Murphy despairs of any chance of preventing the success of the reaction. We had supposed that this State was among the trustiest for the Union under her new auspices, and confidently expected her to be among the earliest to ratify the Constitutional Amendment. *It is even becoming doubtful if we can continue to hold Tennessee.* So that, in point of fact, the Border States are about to revert to the hands of those in them who actively participated in the rebellion, or sympathized in it."

And the *Tribune*—which, this Spring, unreservedly "yielded," and *still yields*, its judgment in favor of impartial suffrage to that of the Congressional compromisers—does not blush, from its glass house, to fling this stone at the hapless "Border State Unionists:"

"The *North American* does not state the case so forcibly as the facts warrant. In Kentucky the rebels *were* disfranchised till last Winter, when the *Union* Legislature restored to them the right of suffrage, after again rejecting the Anti-Slavery Amendment to the Federal Constitution. They, of course, left the loyal blacks under foot. The rebels thereupon took full possession of the State, and they will keep it. Henceforth, the Rousseaus, Crittendens and Hobsons are as powerless in Kentucky as the blacks they refused to enfranchise. Who mourns for them?"

The N. Y. *Evening Post*, whose present policy means nothing if it does not mean throwing away next Winter's "great opportunity," says:

Mr. Lincoln wrote on the 13th of March, 1864, to Gov. Hahn suggesting the wisdom of equal suffrage. Here is his letter:

"Executive Mansion,
Washington, March 13, 1864.

"Hon. Michael Hahn:

"My Dear Sir: I congratulate you on having fixed your name in history as the first Free State Governor of Louisiana. Now you are about to have a Convention, which, among other things, will probably define the elective franchise. I barely suggest, for your private consideration, whether some of the colored people may not be let in, as, for instance, the very intelligent, and especially those who have fought gallantly in our ranks. They would probably help, in some trying time to come, to keep the jewel of liberty in the family of freedom. But this is only a suggestion, not to the public, but to you alone.

"Truly yours, A. Lincoln."

But the Conservative Convention had got no further yet than the foolish doctrine that this is "a white man's government;" they saw themselves sustained by the General government, and probably imagined that they could always call upon that; and they threw away their great opportunity.

—A Boston paper, after quoting Gen. Terry's order forbidding the military organization of negroes, remarks:

"It is not strange that an Administration which has not yet learned the lesson that the ballot may be entrusted to loyal blacks more safely than to rebel whites, should go a step further and give the whites, even now breathing treason, exclusive control of the bullet."

Nor is it strange that a Southern Administration "has not yet learned" what a Northern Congress has not yet dared to teach.

—The Boston Evening *Commercial*, a few days ago, contained a report of a private conversation with the President, of which this is a part:

"The President does not admit that he has been inconsistent. He is as much opposed to treason and traitors as ever he was, and for punishing them severely. *But there is no treason and no traitors now.* The enemy has fully and fairly surrendered and is powerless; and a foe thus situated, should be magnanimously treated. A generous and self-reliant warrior always restores his disarmed enemy his sword and trusts his parole of honor."

The *italics* in the extract we copy from the original. But it is to the sentence printed in small capitals we wish to call attention. "The enemy" (so claimed) of our rebel Administration has indeed "fully and fairly surrendered" its issue, and has made itself "powerless" for good until another year surely—mayhap until another generation. That "enemy" is the Thirty-ninth Congress.

—A Southern (white) loyalist (not of the reconstructed pattern) writes to the *Post* of this city:

"I proceed now to take exception to the manner of Mr. Montgomery Blair's letter—to its style—to its impudence. It argues no little self-confidence in any man to stigmatise gentlemen as 'recreant,' who refused to become traitors—it is impudence to do it in the face of the loyal North, and it is personally offensive, for which the writer may yet have to answer. Has it come to this, that the handful of patriots who stood firm in a hurricane that made millions bend, shall now be stigmatised, while rebels are marked as 'elevated souls'? We have enough of this at home, at the South—in the name of decency, let us be saved from the reproach while we are among those whom we thought our friends.

"I confess that we—I mean the loyalists of the South—have committed a political blunder; we foolishly thought that we were right in sustaining the Constitution of the United States and setting our faces against treason. We have lived to see our error; and although, for one, not repenting nor acknowledging that we were led into it 'by artful, intriguing, ambitious men,' as Mr. Blair does for Stephens, *we recognize the mistake that we made, when we hoped for encouragement and moral support from those who styled themselves the Union party of the North.* It did not require the stone which Mr. Blair has thrown at us from a safe distance to remind us that positions have changed, and what was 'odious' once is now only the error of 'elevated souls.'"

Not merely the handful of original white Unionmen at the South, but four millions of tried and trusted patriots, who need no "certificate" to show for their loyalty but that their Maker gave them, recognize, by this time, the mistake they made when they "hoped for encouragement and moral support from those who styled themselves the Union party of the North." When they asked for the bread of political life, these "conscript fathers" offered them a stone; and instead of the promised fish they have received a serpent.

—The Atlanta (Ga.) *New Era* goes for negro suffrage as the last hope of staying the tide of Republicanism, which, it fears, is slowly and steadily pouring over the South, and says:

"Final decision and action cannot be delayed a great while longer. The crisis is not distant. It is here now. What shall be our decision? Pride, or something else, prevented the skilful use of a defensive army during the war, and the instrument of destruction was naturally enough turned against us. Shall pride, or this something else, induce similar indiscretion now? Let us begin to think earnestly and seriously on this matter. We have abandoned all hopes of a separate nationality. Shall we likewise abandon all manhood, all hope of civil and religious liberty? Should we not, in common with the conservative men of all sections, rather change our tactics, come down from our stilts, waive mere formalities where vital interests are at stake, and fight the devil with fire?"

When the consistent speeches of a few Anti-Slavery Radicals in Congress have thus already brought a sense of the "irrepressible conflict" to the camp of the enemy, what would not a few consistent *votes* from those same terrible-men-to-the South have done?—"Where there is a smoke, there's a fire," is said. But alas!—the more smoke, the poorer the fire!

CAMPAIGN SPEECHES.

The witches' cauldron of politics has already commenced to bubble, as if presaging more than "double, double toil and trouble." Campaign speeches flood in on us to utter repletion. Congress is on the stump, the Cabinet is on the stump, the President is on the stump; and if there was half as much of biting done as of barking, our four years of war would find worthy rivals in these four months of electioneering.

But, from all that is said by the Republican speakers, the people derive very little new light. We have scanned the utterances of Colfax, Garfield, Logan, and others of the most active loyal party leaders, and failed to detect in them the true ring of an honest, manly determination to grapple with the Great Issue. Most Republicans on the stump, and most Republicans in the press, are alike in this: they denounce the President unsparingly, praise the Congress and its proposed Amendment unmeasuredly, and threaten the rebels unfearingly. But *the negro* is, with them, nowhere remembered: "the South Carolina rebel shall not have two votes to the New York loyalist's one;" but whether the loyalist of South Carolina shall have one or not, our halting Republican friends do not say. Northern Unionists—being all white—are to be protected; Southern Unionists—being nineteen-twentieths black—are to be left to rebel discretion.

This is written before the assembling of the Southern Loyalists' Convention at Philadelphia. Whether their action will infuse a healthier blood into Republican veins, the next few weeks must show.

Meanwhile, we present a few expressions from Republican sources (very few there are to choose from!) forming exceptions to the general rule.

Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, at Gloucester, Mass., recently said:

"In the Spring of 1865, we were enabled to conquer and capture every foot of territory and every army of the rebellion. My friends, what did we capture, with the exception of men? When we captured them, we captured everything they had. We captured men and property, their slaves, their rights, constitutional and otherwise. All were conquered—and, indeed, one general of the United States had occasion to define what rights were left to captured rebels, and that definition has never been disputed—*that the only right left to captured rebels was the right to hang.* (Applause.) If they received anything else, it was from clemency and mercy, and not from justice. * * What did our fathers do? I won't cite Massachusetts, for she was always thought to be rabid, but I will take the State of North Carolina; and at the end of the Revolution what law did she pass? She gave the tory amnesty for all his past misdemeanors, protection for his life, liberty and property; but never—forever—should he have any part in the government of the State. And every State in the Union at that day passed the same or similar orders, except South Carolina, and she let the tory pack take part in her government; and the consequence is, that she has never had a republican government to this day. * * * * *

We see by the tone of the papers that these people are not ready for reconstruction. I, for one, do not believe that any portion of this country is ready to participate in the government of the country until any man of any part of the country has equal rights with every other man. And until that can be done in every portion of the United States, that portion is not ready to be admitted as a portion of the United States. And when men ask me how long I would keep these men out, I say, keep them out until the heavens melt with fervent heat, until they will allow free speech and free press throughout their land. And if it should not come in this generation, we will swear our sons to keep them out till they become fit for a republican form of government. * * * *

I am not in favor of the proposition of Congress for this reason: the negro either is qualified in having a right to vote, or he is not. He ought to vote, or he ought not. No taxation without representation, we settled in the beginning of this evening. If he has the right to vote, and Congress offers to the people the Constitutional Amendment to fix the great rights of citizens, then I won't offer a bribe to anybody to give the right. He shall have the right directly, and in so many words; therefore I am against it, for it does not go so far as I would go; it stops short. Don't let any man say, are you in favor of indiscriminate suffrage? I am in favor of anybody's voting that is now fit to vote, and I don't think the question of color enters into the question of fitness. Fix your standard of qualification, and when any man comes here fit to vote, let him vote. Let Congress fix it; let these people fix it, and then ask them to come back into the Union. Let us fix it by the Constitutional Amendment. We call upon the negro to fight our battles, and now we won't allow him to aid in governing the country he aided in defending. I cannot understand why Congress did not go forward. I never go in for indirectness. I mean what I say, and I carry out what I say as well as I can. I give everybody fair notice that I shall try to get, whenever I have the opportunity, impartial suffrage for every man in my command. And anybody that don't like that, I don't want him to go with me. * * * * *

Be not deceived by party ties. Therefore, come back to the true principles of justice for all—equal rights for all men. Away with the idea that this is a white man's government; it is God's government. It is made for white men, black men or gray men—all men, and all men with a perfect equality.

—The following extracts are from a speech made by James M. Ashley at Toledo, O., on receiving his renomination for Congress:

As the men of the Revolution, who, when war was fairly inaugurated, demanded independence and made it a necessity, are entitled to the gratitude of the nation and the world, so the men of 1861 will be held in everlasting remembrance, who declared that the time had come when "the nation could no longer endure half slave and half free," and boldly proclaimed the war to be a war against slavery and for a free Union, and thus made emancipation and victory possible. Following the logic of these events, the true statesmen of 1866 demand equality of representation and impartial suffrage as the only safe foundation upon which to build a reconstructed free Union.

The loyal people of the United States have an oath registered in heaven, pledging liberty and justice to every slave emancipated by Abraham Lincoln. I regret to be compelled to admit that the Congress which has just adjourned did not make good that oath. I need not enumerate the difficulties which beset our path. They are well known to all. I will not disguise the fact that we have temporarily failed, nor will I attempt to disguise the fact that there are thousands of true men who believe we have, as a party, made a disastrous failure. I do not believe it. I am not discouraged or disheartened. It may be a long contest, but, as I said to Mr. Johnson, in May, 1865, so I say to you, that the liberty-loving men of this nation "will camp upon the battle-field as they did during the thirty years of Anti-Slavery warfare, and with the banner of 'impartial suffrage to all men' flying over their heads, they will sooner or later vanquish all opposition, and, as in the late rebellion, come out conquerors and more than conquerors."

Can we secure justice and protection to the lives and property of any class of American citizens from whom we withhold the ballot? As each man before me shall answer the question for himself, so shall he answer it for the men of every race and nationality.

Southern and Northern white men sought the destruction of our government; they trampled upon and desecrated our flag; they mowed down the Union soldiers with their weapons of death; they starved our prisoners and committed enormities upon the living and the dead, which no human tongue can describe, while not one black man in all the nation voluntarily committed treason. On the other hand, notwithstanding the nation's injustice and ingratitude, they came to our army two hundred thousand strong; they wore the nation's badge with honor and carried the nation's ensign like veteran heroes. At Fort Wagner, Milliken's Bend and Port Hudson their bodies paved the way for the Southward march of the conqueror. Everywhere during the war they were our friends and allies. To-day they watch with affection and bedew with tears the solitary grave of the Union soldier. Throughout the South, it is they who are strewing flowers on Union graves and it is they who love with a filial affection and worship with the devotion of pilgrims at the sacred shrine, the government of Washington. Which shall the government entrust with the ballot, the loyal black man or the disloyal white? Justice can give but one answer. The law of justice is universal. If we abandon the loyal black men of the South, we must abandon the loyal white men also, and deliver both over to rebel-domination and rebel vengeance under their re-constructed State governments. Thus we see, that the loyal whites and loyal blacks of the South, must stand or fall together.

"The laws of changeless justice binds,
Oppressor and oppressed;
And close as sin and suffering joined
We march to fate abreast."

In Louisiana, and in all the late rebel States, we disregarded the demands of justice and committed a blunder which in such an hour is worse than a crime. I believe in the economy of God's Providence that He permits such blunders to be punished as crimes. Witness the condition in Louisiana. Did a more terrible retribution ever overtake any people than that which overtook the Convention in Louisiana which trampled upon justice and the rights of loyal men? In 1864, when the loyal men of the State were invited by Mr. Lincoln to recognize a loyal State government, he wrote and asked them to enfranchise the black man who had faithfully served in the army, and those who were the more intelligent, prophetically remarking that the vote of the black man "would probably help, in some trying time to come, to keep the jewel of liberty in the family of freedom." This Convention disregarded Mr. Lincoln's wise suggestion, and while madly refusing to disfranchise disloyal men deliberately declined to enfranchise the only men in the State whose loyalty was unquestioned. The recent rebel mob in New Orleans which dispersed and with premeditation murdered members of this very Convention, is the legitimate fruits of their criminal injustice and stupid folly. Had the colored soldiers of Louisiana been clothed by the new State government with the power of the ballot, there would have been no such mob to commit the atrocities which so recently disgraced that State.

The members of the Convention knew in 1864, as all the world knew, that there were not more than 5,000 or 6,000 loyal white voters in the State, they knew there were 30,000 white voters who were disloyal, they also knew that there was an equal number of *tried* and *true* men of color who were loyal beyond question, and yet they madly persisted in putting the government of the State into the hands of their enemies and the enemies of the Union. Never were such inducements held out to men to deal justly with any race. Self-interest and patriotism alike demanded it, and yet they trampled upon justice, bound the loyal whites and blacks of the State hand and foot, and surrendered all to the tender mercy of the rebel majority. Search the history of all nations and *you will no where find such criminal stupidity; such unpardonable blindness.* It is without a parallel and without a precedent.

The rebellion had been crushed. Slavery with all its assumed constitutional guarantees had been burned up in the lurid flames of civil war. A new life had been breathed into a dying nation by the death of half a million of its sons, and it only remained for the loyal men of Louisiana and of the late rebel States to lay broad and deep the foundations of their reconstructed State governments in order that the fair structure of our National government should secure more of human happiness than any government ever established by the agency of man. The golden moment was lost—an opportunity which comes to men but once in centuries was rejected, and God has permitted the terrible retribution which has followed. "The nation or people which does not rule in righteousness shall perish from the earth." This is God's justice. I would that this was the standard of man's justice also.

In the grand march, which, as a nation, we have made toward freedom and unity, we have learned that justice and liberty are inseparable. We have learned that *policy* is the right arm of despotism. Justice is the ideal of the true statesman. Policy is the constant aim of the politician. Shall justice or policy guide the future of the Union party?

* * * * * * *

I have faith in the future. To my hopeful vision, the clouds which now o'ershadow our political firmament are all lined with crimson and gold. As a nation, I believe we are about entering upon an era, the grandeur of which has never illumined the world with its splendor. If we are but true to ourselves and faithful to our opportunities, we shall make a history for our country such as has never been read in the morning light of any age.

—It is a noticeable fact, and one giving rise to serious reflections, that the New York *Tribune*, in printing abstracts of the two speeches from which we have just quoted, in each case *omitted* the most forcible sentiments in favor of its boasted aim of "impartial suffrage!" Especially was this the case with Mr. Ashley's speech, fully one-third of which, as above given, is an emphatic, unveiled demand for immediate negro enfranchisement, and which, in the *Tribune's* summary, can hardly be distinguished from any one of the ordinary party harangues.

Our extracts from Gen. Butler's speech are taken from the version (better than the *Tribune's*, though not quite a just one, either) of the New York *Herald*, while for a fair rendering of Mr. Ashley's noble words we are indebted to the Toledo (O.) *Commercial*.

THE PRESS.

WHO INVENTED MY POLICY?

Wilkes's Spirit of the Times.

The Philadelphia Convention, of which the New Orleans massacre is but a natural forerunner, is called simply to organize a revolutionary programme; and to its most disloyal and malignant elements is to be entrusted the congenial task of choosing those representatives from Southern counties who are to receive from the President, in conjunction with the Northern Copperheads, the tenancy of the two houses at the Capitol. The scheme is of long standing, and is well matured. It had its inception in the tortuous brain of Seward, and it was invented to serve the purposes of his revenge as well as his ambition, by showing the Republican party of the North that the stone which they thrice rejected for Fremont and Lincoln should be placed at the head of the Southern Democratic temple. With characteristic artfulness, however, the trickster who had failed in betraying Mr. Lincoln intended to impose the aspect of his programme, along with its rewards, upon the mind of Mr. Johnson, but he reserved the idea of making his own merits known when the opportunity should come to accept a nomination which the South could concede to no other Northern man. This was a perfect fellow to the plan by which Mr. Seward regulated and retarded Mr. Lincoln, and we are enabled to fix the period when the temper unfolded it to his successor by noting the hour when Mr. Johnson altered his policy in favor of the rebels. Until the period of Seward's recovery from the wounds of Payne, Mr. Johnson administered the government with uprightness and ability. He was firm in his foreign policy, patriotic in his domestic jurisdiction, dignified in his expressions, and he kept his faith rigorously in maintaining the odium of treason. He doubtless would have continued this way unto the end, looking for no reward beyond the approbation of his countrymen, had not the temper who had so often marred the higher purposes of Mr. Lincoln pointed out the fatal honey of the Constitution, and limed him through the lust of repetition. From the hour Mr. Seward showed Andrew Johnson how he might be re-elected, by coercing the North and conceding to the South, the whole Presidential policy was changed.

The above finds confirmation in recent words of Mr. Seward, quoted in our "Summary" this week.

The case of Seward should serve as another warning against the popular habits of educating *traitors* by first making *idols* of men. It is the senseless worship of the mass that turns human creatures into Lucifers of ambition.

"ARM IN ARM."

New Bedford (Mass.) Standard.

The proceedings of the Philadelphia Convention were inaugurated by the entry of the South Carolina and Massachusetts delegations arm in arm, heralded and announced by Mr. Postmaster Randall. This scene was a fitting and typical one. The South Carolina delegation, composed of men but recently in arms for the destruction of the nation; the Massachusetts delegation of men belonging to the party which persistently opposed the prosecution of the war for its preservation, the measures necessary to carry it on, and the enfranchisement of those to keep whom in perpetual bondage was the object of South Carolina in seceding. It was an assurance that the old alliance between the Southern Aristocracy and the Northern Democracy was revived; that the war-hatchet taken up at the Charleston Convention was buried, and that henceforth the two parties are to act in common on the old terms—the control and direction of the national policy by the one, and the enjoyment of the perquisites of office by the other.

GOOD CUT OF EVIL.

The Nation (N. Y.).

Evil that is sufficiently restrained to avoid violent excess, is like those fatal diseases which give no pain until they are incurable. Judicious and moderate wickedness is far more demoralizing than open outrage. If we must sometimes have wicked rulers, we do not regret that they carry their malice to great lengths. But for their excesses it would be difficult, if not impossible, to arouse the people to a sense of their danger. Mr. Johnson would have been just what he is, and his policy just as injurious to the nation, even if there had been no massacre under his auspices. Slavery was just as monstrous and corrupting when it was peaceful, and allowed a few men to talk about its evils without resistance, as it was when it rose in rebellion and sought to destroy the government. But it would have lasted two hundred years longer, if it had not shown its ferocity and demoniac spirit on so broad a scale. It was in vain, however, that its servile apologists and allies sought to impress this fact upon the Southern mind. And now that they have succeeded in mesmerizing the tiger for a few hours' meek performance at Philadelphia, their exultation is boundless. But it will be short-lived. The tigerish spirit will again blaze from the eyes, and inspire the acts, of the devotees of slavery; and the first important success which they achieve will carry in it the seeds of their destruction.

With this we easily concur. But not so with what follows, in the *Nation's* article. In the beginning of it, the theory was advanced that—

"Government is in its nature conservative, whether for good or evil; and in despotic administrations this tendency to conservatism is unchecked. In republican countries the energy and will of the people impress themselves more directly upon the ruling powers; and whatever may be the popular tendency at an election, it is fully borne out by the elect."

From this very correct premise, the following deduction is then made:

"On the other hand, we care little for the platform or professions of the party of liberty. If only it puts forward men of integrity, whose hearts are true to the cause, we rest assured that they will do more than their professions require, and not less. Partly under the inspiration of their friends, and partly from the folly of their enemies, they will be led, step by step, to do more for the good cause than they ever promised or supposed that they would."

It is to this we take exception. Essential as the personal character of the candidates alone may be to the success of their cause, it is not to be expected that a very powerful "tendency" for good can be exercised, and "impressed" on the "elect," where a party is too weak-kneed to have a defined issue in its battles.

N. Y. Evening Post.

Does Mr. Johnson know that by his indecorous language and injudicious conduct he is seriously increasing the difficulties under which the country already staggers? If he does not, it would be well if some judicious friend—if he has any such left—would tell him this. * * * * *

If all this only made *him* unpopular, it would perhaps matter little. But it does and has done more than that. It has aroused such a storm of indignation through the country, it has so driven people's blood to their heads, that they no longer stop to reason, but include in one strong condemnation not only Mr. Johnson, but every measure and policy which he favors. Affairs have come to the pass, that the most effective argument which can be brought before the people against any public measure or policy, is the simple statement that Mr. Johnson wishes or supports it. No matter how cogent the reasons, for instance, for the admission of loyal Southern representatives to Congress, no matter how unwise and untenable the grounds of opposition to this measure, its opponents need only point to Mr. Johnson as its chief advocate, and the indignation of the public with him suffices to condemn also the policy which is so unfortunate as to have his favor.

As confirming the correctness of the pessimistic view expressed by the *Nation*, this outburst from a disgusted supporter of "my policy," has some interest.

Not less has the following (from an Administra-

tion journal), concerning the recent rebel election triumph in Kentucky:

Louisville (Ky.) Courier.

The secession victory here—if it turn out to be a victory—was achieved in a spirit of bravado, of defiance, of insolence and threats, of abuse and slander and misrepresentation rarely witnessed in the history of any canvass in this country. Union speakers were interrupted and insulted by ruffians who shouted for Davis and Lee, for Duvall and the "lost cause."

The first battle of Bull Run, apparently a victory for the secession leaders, was really their first great defeat after they determined to try the wager of battle. It sealed the fate of slavery, for it made the Union victorious. The shouts for Jeff. Davis, Lee, etc., which have been heard at many a gathering in Kentucky during the late canvass, which were heard at the Court House in Louisville on Friday night last, and again, boisterously, for Lee and Johnson at Fest Hall, on Saturday night, and on the streets of Louisville, after the Duvall triumph on Monday, following the riot in Memphis and the late riot in New Orleans, will, in all human probability, lead to a train of events that will establish negro suffrage throughout the whole Southern States, within two years and a half or three years at the farthest. * * * * *

The election here spoken of is the same which the N. Y. *News* thus characterizes:

"Perhaps nothing better attests the nature of the triumph than the fact that such well-known Peace Democrats as Pendleton, Vallandigham and Voorhees, were among the principal advocates, from beyond the State, of Duvall's election, and contributed greatly to his success."

And of which the Hartford (Ct.) *Press* remarks:

"Duvall was the ultra-rebel secession candidate, and his opponent was the Conservative Johnson candidate. Duvall was elected by the Kentucky rebels, because he was a secessionist par excellence, and none of the half-way stripe."

Thus the evil fruit of Conservatism is seen to multiply in geometric progression. The time has already come when Andrew Johnson can no longer hold his self-chosen constituents to a prudent pace; and Kentucky elections combine with Louisiana massacres to burst the overblown bubble.

As a parallel to our previous quotation from the *Evening Post*, there comes another ray of light, though yet dim, reflected from the lurid glare of New Orleans. The Springfield (Mass.) *Republican* an enemy to all Radicalism, admits that—

* * "Equal suffrage will nevertheless come, and probably in Louisiana first of all the Southern States, for many of her most intelligent and wealthy citizens are of mixed blood, and this class cannot be permanently excluded from the highest privilege of citizenship."

THE CONFLICT IN MISSOURI.

N. Y. Tribune.

Since the recent interview between Mr. Congressman Noell and the President in reference to "Gov. Fletcher's militia," the politics of Missouri have begun to assume a character which must attract the attention of earnest men throughout the country. The startling query whether the President is meditating a *coup d' état* in case of his defeat at the Fall election, is raised anew by the Noell interview. * *

In the new Constitution of Missouri it is provided that no man shall vote at any election, who has not taken and subscribed to a certain oath, which is very stringent, and under which no rebel or rebel sympathizer can vote without perjury. * * Now, Gov. Fletcher will see to it that the organized bands of guerillas and bushwhackers in the disloyal counties in Missouri do not control the ballot-box. If to do this it be necessary to call out the militia, he will doubtless do so. And let us see if President Johnson will send a regiment or company of Federal soldiers to clear away "Gov. Fletcher's militia" and protect rebels, bushwhackers and guerillas in the privilege of suffrage, denied them by the Constitution and laws of Missouri, for their treason, murder, thefts and rapine! Frank Blair is promising the disloyal men of the State that this shall be done. He is traversing the State, appealing to the worst passions of the people, and stirring up strife and insurrection. Gov. Fletcher must not, he cannot yield to the threats of the President. They are threats which he cannot carry out if he would. He would find himself deposed by impeachment before he had marched his troops 100 miles into the State. He has refused to interfere to *protect* the loyal government of Tennessee; he cannot interfere to *overthrow* the loyal government of Missouri. * * Least of all States, must Missouri give the lie to the proverb that "Revolutions never go backward."

VALIANT AFTER-THOUGHTS.

St. Louis (Mo.) Democrat.

And it may as well be understood first as last, that so long as they [the rebels] remain of that temper, there is no chance whatever for them to regain political privileges. The people of the North are in earnest about this matter. They have spent thousands of millions; but, if need be, can spend as much more. They have sacrificed half a million of lives; but, if necessary, have millions more to resume the contest—veterans instead of recruits. And if the fight is renewed, as Horace Maynard says, the next reconstruction will begin with the surveyor's line and the land office. If generosity and moderation are treated with contumely and insult, the effect of a little wholesome severity will be tried. The people demand that the Constitution shall be obeyed as the supreme law, at the South as well as the North; that the decision of the ballot-box shall be respected, and that the rightful law-making power in this land shall not be resisted by factions or mobs.

PLANTATION LINGO IN THE NORTH.

This, from the N. Y. *World*, explains itself:

DELEGATES TO THE MEAN WHITE CONVENTION FROM THE BOGUS STATE OF WEST VIRGINIA.—*Wheeling, West Va., August* 26.—The following gentlemen are appointed delegates to attend the Philadelphia Convention of *Southern sneaks* on the 3d of September: Gov. Boreman, Senators Willey and Van Winkle, and Gens. Kelly, Harris, Duvall, Lightburn and Strother (Porte Crayon).

POLITICS OF UNION GENERALS.

N. Y. Tribune.

The meeting of rebels at Memphis to ratify the Philadelphia platform was such a grimly cruel mockery of "my policy," as the President himself can hardly fail to perceive. Gen. Forrest, who ordered the butchery at Fort Pillow, presided, and Recorder Creighton, who shouted like a demon to the mob at Memphis to "kill every d—d nigger," was a Vice-President of the meeting. Forrest said "there was *no decision in the late war*," and he proposed now "to go to the *ballot*-box." Col. Henry, another rebel raider, said boldly that the "South had got *nearly all* at Philadelphia that it asked for. The abolition of slavery was a cruel mistake. The speakers were all of one mind as to what should be done with Gov. Brownlow and the State government of Tennessee, declaring that they "would yet put their feet on the necks of the Radicals." One Union General, in command, whom the whole nation will cry shame upon, a witness of the massacre at which Creighton acted as chief executioner, sat down among the murderers like a creature. Stoneman, sandwiched between Forrest and Creighton, was a patent gauge of all the value of his fighting—an example of how weak men are sometimes subdued by big criminals. Fraternize, if you please, General; but for a soldier to conciliate assassins we hold to be the lowest depth of infamy. Every brave and loyal man cries shame! Think of Sheridan sitting down with Monroe—of Stoneman hobnobbing with Creighton!

The judgment of those who imagine that physical courage, or mathematical talent, displayed in the service of the United States under shoulder-straps, are identical with or an equivalent for public or private virtue, is sorely rebuked by the fact related of Gen. Stoneman in the foregoing.

But those Republicans who insist that having "broken the back-bone of the rebellion" is an evidence of every patriotic and humanitarian excellency, of profound statesmanship, and of fitness for the Chief Magistracy of a republic, should be interested in the following:

Referring to the statement that Gen. Grant was "tricked" into being present at the interview between President Johnson and the Philadelphia committee, the Washington correspondent of the *Commonwealth* (Boston) says:

"Just after the President commenced his reply to Reverdy Johnson, Gen. Grant entered the East-Room. He was accompanied by several officers in uniform; himself being in citizen's dress. As he passed in at the main door a way was made for him by Marshal Gooding and others, and he passed on up to the place where stood the President. During the remainder of Mr. Johnson's speech, Gen. Grant stood by the President to his right. When the speech was over, a passage was cleared in the centre of the crowd down the room to the main door. Down this passage came Mr. Johnson *and* Gen. Grant, *arm-in-arm*, followed by Welles and McCulloch. The President stationed himself at the door, and placed Gen. Grant next to him, the two secretaries standing next to the General. As the conventionists passed out, Marshal Gooding introduced each man separately to the President, who in turn introduced them to Grant, generally with some complimentary allusion to that officer. Gen. Grant was, next to the President, the most conspicuous actor in the entire farce.

"There was nothing to warrant a belief that Gen. Grant was an unwilling participant. He came into the East-Room quite as a matter of course; he seemed to be expected, and throughout the affair appeared to an observer to be there with perfect knowledge of the transaction he was engaged in. Had the General been 'tricked,' as described, would he have brought with him three members of his staff? would he have gone to the East-Room and interrupted the President's speech? would he not, on the contrary, have gone up stairs into the executive office and waited, rather than made himself a conspicuous actor in a scene with which, we are to believe, he had no sympathy."

—The praise accorded to Grant by the *Times* ill-consorts with the plaudits lately showered on him by the loyal press for his famous "Order No. 3:"

N. Y. Times.

We must praise Gen. Grant for the great indisposition he exhibits to authorize the use of military force in any case against the jurisdiction of the civil power, or where ordinary law can in any way be brought to bear. When appealed to recently to station a military force at Annapolis, in Maryland, for the protection of the negroes against the civil tribunals of the State, on the ground that the decisions of the regular courts were unsatisfactory, he very quickly declined to authorize such a measure, and gave some decisive reasons for his course. Subsequently, we are told, he spoke very hopefully concerning the condition and prospects of the freedmen, pronouncing his belief that time will bring with it the full fruition of their newly acquired liberty; and urging that, while anxious they should obtain all their rights as freemen, any unnecessary interference by the military with the civil authorities would not only tend to embitter the whites against the government, but delay the consummation of that harmony between the races so much to be desired. Gen. Grant evidently appreciates the philosophy of liberty as well as the spirit of the American people.

A "QUADRILATERAL" ON THE STUMP.

The comments of the *News* on the Presidential "progress" to Chicago well exhibit the nature of that enterprise; while they reflect not less pointedly on the alleged political independence of the General commanding our armies.

N. Y. News.

The spirit of Douglas seems, at the crisis, to have brought from the tomb an influence to strengthen the Conservative cause. The mission of the President and his party is one of respect to the memory of a distinguished American, but indirectly it is striking a heavy blow at Radicalism, and its political tendency has far more significance than any conventional honors paid to the ashes of greatness. * * The voices of welcome heard along his path sound like echoes of the Conservative utterance of the Philadelphia Convention; they are not too late to be accepted as an indorsement of the platform of that Convention, nor yet too early to influence the Fall elections.

The material, too, of the travelling party has been well chosen. The people see together, in close companionship and in evident accord, four men who, as individuals, are powers in the land, and who, as officials, are representatives of still greater powers. *The popularity of Gen. Grant* and Admiral Farragut will be of service to *any* cause in which they may be engaged; and in their persons as officers we have the assurance that the Army and the Navy will do their duty to the Republic under the orders of the Executive. Mr. Seward's hearty co-operation, valuable in regard to his experience and skill in partisan manœuvre, gains force, in view of his former intimate relations with the Republican party. In this *quadrilateral* we find a "tower of strength which they upon the adverse faction lack."

THE PLOT.

Atlantic Monthly.

The party under which the war for the Union was conducted, is to be denounced, and proscribed as the party of disunion, and we are to be edified by addresses on the indissoluble unity of the nation, by secessionists, who have hardly yet had time to wash from their hands the stains of Union blood. The leading proposition on which the conspiracy against the country is to be conducted, is the monstrous absurdity, that the rebel States have an inherent, "continuous," unconditioned, constitutional *right* to form a part of the Federal government, when they have once acknowledged the fact of the defeat of their inhabitants in an armed attempt to overthrow and subvert it—a proposition which implies that victory paralyzes the powers of the victors, that ruin begins when success is assured, that the only effect of beating a Southern rebel in the field, is to exalt him into a maker of laws for his antagonist.

* * * * * *

It is even said, that, if the majority of the "Rump" Congress cannot be overcome by fair means, it will by foul; and there are noisy partisans of the President who assert that he has in him a Cromwellian capacity for dealing with legislative assemblies, whose notions of the public good clash with his own. In short, we are promised, on the assembling of the next Congress, a *coup d'état*.

Garret Davis of Kentucky was, we believe, the first to announce this executive remedy for the "radical" disease of the State, and it has since been often prescribed by Democratic politicians as a sovereign panacea. Gen. McClernand, indeed, proposed a scheme, simpler even than that of executive recognition, by which the Southern Senators and Representatives might effect a lodgment in Congress. They should, according to him, have gone to Washington, entered the halls of legislation, and proceeded to occupy their seats, "peaceably if they could, forcibly if they must;" but the record of Gen. McClernand, as a military man, was not such as to give to his advice on a question of carrying position by assault, a high degree of authority, and, there being some natural hesitation in following his counsel, the golden opportunity was lost. Mr. Montgomery Blair, who professes his willingness to act with any men, "rebels or any one else," to put down the Radicals, is never weary of talking to Conservative Conventions of "two Presidents and two Congresses." There can be no doubt that the project of a *coup d'état* has become dangerously familiar to the "Conservative" mind, and that the eminent legal gentlemen of the North, who are publishing opinions affirming the right of the excluded Southern representatives to their seats, are playing into the hands of the desperate gang of unscrupulous politicians who are determined to have the right established by force. It is computed, that the gain, in the approaching elections, of twenty-five districts now represented by Union Republicans, will give the Johnson party, in the next Congress, a majority of the House of Representatives, should the Southern delegations be counted; and it is proposed that the Johnson members legally entitled to seats should combine with the Southern pretenders to seats, organize as the House of Representatives of the United States, and apply to the President for recognition. Should the President comply, he would be impeached by an unrecognized House, before an "incomplete" Senate, and if convicted, would deny the validity of the proceeding. The result would be civil war, in which the name of the Federal government would be on the side of the revolutionists. Such is the programme which is freely discussed by partisans of the President, considered to be high in his favor: and the scheme, it is contended, is the logical result of the position he has assumed as to the rights of the excluded States to representation. It is certain that the present Congress is as much the Congress of the United States as he is the President of the United States; but it is well known that he considers himself to represent the whole country, while he thinks that Congress only represents a portion of it; and he has in his character just that combination of qualities, and is placed in just those anomalous circumstances, which lead men to the commission of great political crimes. The mere hint of the possibility of his attempting a *coup d' état* is received by some Republicans with a look of incredulous surprise; yet what has his administration been to such persons, but a succession of surprises?

THE report of the Congressional Committee appointed to investigate the Memphis riots clearly shows who were the aggressors, and the objects by which they were animated, by the statement that the number of colored persons killed was forty-six, and of white persons two, while four churches and twelve school-houses used by the freedmen were destroyed.—*Phil. Press.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1866.

THE PLOT.

WE have witnessed in one department of the government every effort as it were, to prevent the restoring of peace and harmony in the Union. WE HAVE SEEN HANGING UPON THE VERGE OF THE GOVERNMENT, AS IT WERE, A BODY CALLED, OR WHICH ASSUMED TO BE, THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES, BUT IN FACT, A CONGRESS OF ONLY PART OF THE STATES. We have seen this Congress assume and pretend to be for the Union, when its every step and act tended to perpetuate disunion, and make a disruption of the States inevitable. Instead of promoting reconciliation and harmony, its legislation has partaken of the character of penalties, retaliation, and revenge. This has been the course and policy of one department of our government.

President Johnson has uttered, in the course of his political career, some very infamous sentiments. Like most Southern speakers, he won sectional popularity by murderous avowals and unmanly pandering to the barbarism amid which he lived, but which even he had seen enough of Northern civilization to have outgrown. Narrow and illiterate as he was, his speeches showed enough native vigor of intellect to prove that these base and murderous outbursts were, from him, hypocritical.

But the most treasonable words that ever fell from his lips are those we have quoted at the head of this article. They are a declaration of war against the Legislative department of the government; that department which, in republics, is always understood most nearly to represent, and to be, the government itself. They are the words of a traitor. Properly considered, they are of more significance than the gun fired at Sumter. The ridiculous puppets who fired that gun soon disappeared, giving place to the leading traitors, Lee, Jackson, Davis, and the rest. So now this buffoon demagogue, once out of office, will sink to his proper level; but his accidental elevation to responsible position enables him meanwhile to open a wide door and furnish powerful arms to traitors. His speeches have also this special value, that they betray, more than those of his shrewd and cautious keepers, the real plan of the conspirators. What they only whisper or permit to be obscurely reported, he flatly confesses. Comparing his speech to the delegates from the Philadelphia Convention with the doings of that body, we may form a shrewd guess as to the present plans and hopes of these Southern champions. The Constitutional Amendment, proposed by Congress, is to be rejected, on the ground that, until all the States are represented in Congress, no Amendment of the Constitution can be proposed or effected. It will be observed that this argument needs but slight extension to nullify the Anti-Slavery Amendment also.

The representatives from the ten rebel States are to be admitted, unconditionally, to Congress, on the ground of their "continuous," unforfeited, right to sit there. Fifty-eight members are thus admitted, representing the whites of the South and three-fifths of the blacks. Even if the proposed Constitutional Amendment should be adopted (refusing representation for disfranchised blacks), it is doubtful whether, constitutionally (see Art. 1, Sect. 2), this number could be reduced before 1872. It is quite certain that, the Southern members once admitted, no reduction would be made even if the Constitution does allow it. Six years, therefore, of its old preponderance in Congress would be secured to the South, to Rebeldom.

Possessed of this machinery, to what work will the conspirators set themselves? The President lets us know, in the words quoted above. Placed beside the argument spread out in the address of the Philadelphia Convention, it is evident that the extreme Southern wing intend to claim that the rebel States were always parts of the Union, and that a Congress representing only two-thirds of the nation can neither initiate amendments to the Constitution, nor contract binding debts. Consequently the Anti-Slavery Amendment is not valid and the national debt not binding. Further, the different State Constitutions in the rebel States have (as Judge Ruffin of North Carolina contends) been accepted under compulsion and duress and are not legal instruments. Hence all repudiation of rebel debts therein contained is void.

The South undoubtedly wishes to set aside all these acts, the Anti-Slavery Amendment included. This would not only restore slavery, but gratify her pride by showing that even after defeat in the rebellion she returns to the Union exactly as she left it—on her own terms, no single right lost, and in fact victorious. Very few Southerners, however, indulge such vast hopes. The bulk mean to *claim* all these points, not with any expectation of seeing them conceded, but as *materials to trade with*. They will enter Congress holding such language to the North as this: "You want slavery abolished and the national debt acknowledged and ratified. Very well, we contend that slavery is not yet legally abolished and the debt is not binding. But we will join you in both these on certain conditions. These are—assume the Confederate debt, compensate slaveholders, and leave the black race, in all its civil and political relations, wholly and exclusively under our control." This will be the COMPROMISE offered. And, until 1872, the South, still wielding her old slave-weight in Congress, will strain every nerve, exhaust the patronage of the government, to bring us to these terms. Of course no terms can *finally* bring freedom into subjection to slavery; can make the devil's system—bondage—work better than God's law—JUSTICE. But a cunning compromise might float the nation on in infamy, violence and anarchy for a dozen years.

It will be observed that this form of compromise holds out one temptation of terrible power. At present, capital—invested in 3,000,000,000 dollars of national debt—has, to this extent, given bonds to support the North, the nation which borrowed and means to pay. But suppose the South, fortified by her position in Congress, offers the compromise I have sketched, timid capitalists will say: "The North will pay us at any rate. Whether victorious or defeated on this issue, she scorns repudiation. No need, therefore, to consider or conciliate her. But unless the South is gratified, our bonds are to be in perpetual doubt. So we will support the Southern demands and thus quiet all doubts of the debt and have it heartily assumed by both sections." Hence this new form of the battle not only robs our side of that dread weight—the selfish capital of the nation—but transfers it to the other side. This is a fearful change.

Add to this picture the possibility of that *coup d'état*,—well described in the extract we give in our "Press" column from the *Atlantic Monthly*—and we have the floating plans of the new rebel army marshalled at Philadelphia. Like all their other plots—like the rebellion itself—this last conspiracy will be defeated if the North can be roused to a full comprehension of the danger. Should any violent attack be made on Congress and be successful, it would be the commencement of military despotism; if resisted, it would be civil war. In this latter emergency we have no hope of aid from Gen. Grant. His voluntary presence at the public interview of these traitors, his ostentatious presentation of himself in the Demagogue's retinue during this Western tour show either the same pitiable weakness which has made him lend his name to very questionable cotton speculations in the South, not from greed of money, but to oblige friends—the same easy subserviency which made him submit to the farce of a Southern express trip, merely to bolster up with his name a wicked fraud—or they show a heart deliberately ready to betray his country. This is no hard judgment. Even if Grant be, as some of his near friends assert, so ignorant outside of a camp "that he would not be fit to sit on a grand jury," still his intercourse with leading members of Congress enables him to understand well enough the meaning which the country puts, and which the President means it shall put, on his present attitude. He is deliberately strengthening this treasonable movement. In any conflict between the Executive and Congress, he will be found where all mere soldiers—routine cut-throats—have always been found: holding up the hands of despotism. If those best acquainted with the plans of the traitors really consider a *coup d'état* possible, it becomes them to provide for this emergency. One able and trusted military leader could, with twenty-four hours' notice, have checkmated the hesitating treason of Louis Napoleon on the 2d of December. Warned beforehand, publicly defied, our Congress would add to the list of spaniel Legislatures the foulest item if it allowed this indignity to be fastened on it.

But we look forward to no such good thing—sure to rouse the North to white heat. The attack will be made, as this Philadelphia conclave of conspirators indicates, with all the forms of law. The ballots of this Autumn will decide whether men will sit in that capitol, fit and ready to meet such wiles.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

THE LOST OPPORTUNITY.

STRONGER than any words of ours could make it, the Republican party is preparing for itself an arraignment before the bench of Eternal Justice. The argument with which the Reconstruction Committee of Congress introduced their proposed Amendment is the weightest evidence of their guilt in failing to provide negro suffrage therein. The arguments which members of Congress are daily using on the stump, to prove treason against Andrew Johnson, do prove something little short of treason against those who tempted Andrew Johnson to that crime, by leaving reconstruction in July, 1866, where they found it in December, 1865.

However, great as is the sin of many who walk with saintly mien, it may be effaced, and its losses partly regained, by speedy repentance, and "*fruits, meet for repentance.*" But what shall be said of those who, like the New York *Tribune*, palter with this great work—who trifle with penitence, and deny on one day what they have solemnly averred on another! Instead of any attempt to characterize such action in direct terms, we simply submit the *Tribune's* own record of itself, as given under the head "Consistency," in another column.

As for further testimony on the Lost Opportunity—some will be found, entitled "Delinquencies," on our first page; while a most scathing review of Republican action by Republican speech is contained in James M. Ashley's words, under "Campaign Speeches," also on page first.

—If ever a contest demanded decision, the present one does. If ever courage was needed, it is now. If ever honesty gained the day, it will gain ours. Is the course of most of the Republican leaders either decided, or courageous, or honest? Is it adapted to retrieve their Lost Opportunity?

GENERAL GRANT.

THE Republican journals, desirous of saving Grant's reputation in view of the next Presidency, assure us he was not voluntarily and designedly present at the interview between President Johnson and the Philadelphia delegates, but was "*tricked*" into being present by Johnson and Seward. The Lieutenant-General "tricked!" Julius Cæsar entrapped! Wellington bubbled! Buonaparte outwitted! Alas! The excuse is not worse than the offence—because imbecility is never so bad as crime: but it is a most melancholy excuse nevertheless. Will it be wholly safe to make a President out of a man so easily "tricked?" What a pleasant time he must be having now, just after being so shamefully and unpleasantly "tricked," to set out on a long journey with the tricksters! Patient, forgiving, happy Lieutenant-General!

In our "Press" column may be found some interesting extracts on this subject.

TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION.

ONE of the grievances which were cited by the American colonies, as a cause and justification of their war against Great Britain, was that they were taxed without being represented in the government. Their sense of wrong and burning indignation was aroused thereby to such a degree that they called upon the civilized world to testify to the rightfulness of their appeal to arms. The outrage was not that they were *heavily* taxed. It was, that being taxed, they were denied representation. It was the *principle* which they denounced as tyranny and resisted unto death. So clearly did they see the gross injustice done them by Great Britain, in taxing them for the support of a government in which they were allowed no voice; so outraged was their moral sense, that their battle-cry of "Not one cent for tribute—millions for defence!" leaped from tongue to tongue and heart to heart, throughout the land, like electric fire. And when their sanguinary conflict was ended, they thanked God that the rights of man against despotic power had triumphed.

Their posterity have justified their appeal, and echoed their thanksgiving; and each generation has received and taught, as a fundamental principle of government, that taxation without representation is tyranny. That the two are united in all just governments, is the loudly professed creed of this nation; and here we have another instance of popular delusion respecting popular belief. Under our government all classes of persons are taxed in proportion to their property; while more than one class is excluded from representation. This fact is perfectly well known to the community; it is a subject of continual discussion in public and in private; it is defended in our legislatures, on our platforms, in our counting-houses, and by our firesides; and yet the American people go on prochiming to all the world that "taxation without representation is tyranny," and glory in the fact that their fathers resisted such tyranny by their victorious swords, apparently unconscious of the self-condemnation of their words.

During the last few years one large class of persons thus taxed without representation has obtained unusual prominence in the nation. When the side of war seemed to be turning against us, the imperiled nation called upon her colored subjects, to whom she had long denied citizenship, to rally to her help and fill her thinning ranks upon the battle-field; and that oppressed and insulted people promptly responded to her call with courage, fidelity, and self-sacrifice, which won from our greatest General the testimony that, in camp and field, they were excelled by no soldiers of our armies. With their help the rebellion has been conquered in the battle-field; and many a military officer who watched, with hope and fear, the fortunes of our four years' struggle, has declared that it was the negro who saved us from defeat. In its hour of peril, the nation was willing to promise justice as a reward for such service; in its first hour of victory it was eloquent in its gratitude to those who had thus returned to it good for evil. A year has gone by, and the black man is asking the simplest justice at the hands of the nation; asking that he may be relieved from what the nation has always declared to be tyranny; asking it as his right acknowledged in virtue of his manhood. His friends are urging the nation to remember the debt due to him for his patriotic fidelity to a country which he could scarcely call his own—and the American people are paltering about the measure of justice which shall be awarded him. They could ask him to fight in defence of the government; they can levy taxes on him for its support, and then coolly tell him that he shall have no representation in that government, no voice in making the laws which shall control him. In short, that he shall be subjected to that tyranny which their fathers resisted by honorable war. More than this, and worse than this—they are telling him that in the rebel States he shall be subject to laws made, not by those whose gratitude he has earned by fighting their battles, but by his enraged and defeated slave-master, *against* whom he fought in a United States uniform. This is the guerdon which a grateful republic offers to its defenders; this is her practical comment on the doctrine that "taxation without representation is tyranny."

Why did not Congress, for very shame, and to save the nation from stultifying itself, release from taxation the people whom it suffers to be disfranchised? Why did not some Radical member of that body seek to atone for his vote in favor of the new Amendment of the Constitution—which is to deliver into the keeping of the Southern rebels, the rights of loyal United States soldiers—by introducing a bill to forbid that the unrepresented black man should be farther insulted by taxation? Slavery is, *in name*, abolished. The citizenship of the black man is, *in words*, acknowledged by the highest law-making power in the land. Hereafter, throughout the South as well as the North, the rights of all classes stand upon the same basis; or the fundamental doctrines of our government are false. The United States must now conform her Constitution and her legislation to the principles of her Declaration of National Independence; or she must bear the derision of the civilized world, and her own consciousness of gross inconsistency and meanness.

But is it the nation's heart that prompts this continued injustice to the colored man, and this ungrateful requital of his patriotism? Or does this guilt rest chiefly on the people's Congress, and the leaders of their political parties? Time will speedily show. If it be true that the people have been betrayed by those whom they have chosen to represent them; if a higher sense of justice and a stronger faith in the right than their leaders have evinced, really sways the popular heart, there will go up from the North thunder-tones of rebuke, and an utterance of *the people's will*, which will find an echo in our national legislation. If not, there is nothing left for us but to await the education which further discipline may bring. If the colored people of this land should imitate the example of those "fathers" whom we so loudly extol, what resistance or defence could the nation make which would not either rebuke the revolutionary struggle of 1776, or stamp itself with infamy? M. G.

THE Southern Loyalists' Convention, and its Northern coadjutor, have met. The result is not known at the hour of this writing (Wednesday evening); but notwithstanding, we give place to the sanguine prognostications of our correspondent "Viator"—in the assurance that, should his expectation be realized, his enthusiastic words will be but a just tribute to the virtue and courage that dared and did the right, at Philadelphia; while, should his hope be disappointed, his anticipatory praise of what ought to have been done will stand as a blasting condemnation of the treachery and cowardice that knew the right, but did the wrong.

As the result will be known to our readers before this paper is in their hands, we refrain, at this time, from any speculations on its probable character.

CONSISTENCY.

IN addition to what we have quoted from the New York *Tribune*, on our first page, under the heads, "A Lesson," and "Delinquencies," that journal, in its issue of the 15th ult., thus pledges itself to "stand by" negro suffrage, as a fundamental condition of reconstruction.

It first quotes Gov. Orr, of South Carolina, as follows:

"Fellow-citizens, we have been knocking at the door for eight long months, asking Congress to admit us. * * Is it just or fair or generous that we should be excluded from legislation while taxes are imposed upon us without our consent?"

To this, the *Tribune* replies:

"'Is it just, or fair, or generous,' that the 400,000 loyal blacks of South Carolina should be excluded not only from all representation in Congress, but from all voice in the legislation of their own State, 'while taxes are imposed on them without their consent?' We measure Gov. Orr in his own bushel. *Whenever he will bring his* 300,000 *confederates in the late rebellion to accord to their loyal black fellow-Carolinians the rights already enjoyed by themselves*, we will do our utmost to have him and his colleagues admitted to seats in Congress. Is not this fair? Nay, are we not *in honor bound to stand by* our fellow-Unionists of South Carolina, who, though a majority of the whole people, are denied by Orr & Co. all voice in making the laws by which they are governed?"

On the 28th ult., commenting on a letter from a Southern loyalist, and in reply to the N. Y. *Post's* argument for the unconditional restoration of the South to representation, the *Tribune* says:

"We hold that a community whereof the loyal half is powerless and the rebel or ruling class is so lawless, violent and tyrannical as is set forth above, is not fit to be represented in Congress, and *should be kept out till it can be so brought in as to give its loyal, quiet people a fair and equal voice in its government.* The constitutional requirement that Congress shall guarantee to every State a republican form of government clearly requires this.

"We earnestly desire the early representation of each State in Congress; but not a representation of its rebels to the exclusion of its loyal men. *We want all the people represented* as well as all the States.

On the 31st ult., it thus denounces Republicans who would allow negro disfranchisement:

"The Republican Unionists of this country are a majority both North and South. We can be beaten only by the disfranchisement of four millions of us, while all the ex-rebels claim and exercise the right of suffrage. By rebels at the South and copperheads at the North, *aided by a few weak-kneed or apostate Republicans*, this disfranchisement of four loyal millions is persisted in."

—NOW FOR THE OTHER SIDE:

On the 15th ult., *in the same article* from which the first of the above extracts is taken, the *Tribune* quotes the following strictures by Robert C. Winthrop on the present Congress:

"Most happily, Congress did not adjourn without admitting to their seats the Senators and Representatives of Tennessee; but that very act has rendered it all the more difficult to discover anything of constitutional principle, or anything of true national policy, in its persistent denial of all representation to the other Southern States."

To which it answers:

"The delegation from Tennessee was admitted to seats in either House of Congress on terms openly presented to *every* State lately in revolt, as Mr. Winthrop well knows. South Carolina could have come in at the same time and MAY COME IN AT ANY TIME, *on the terms accepted by Tennessee.* Why, then, does a man of Mr. Winthrop's antecedents talk of the representation of Tennessee as exceptional, and assert that there is a 'persistent denial of *all* representation to the other Southern States?'"

On the 30th ult., after quoting the Constitutional Amendment proposed by the 39th Congress, the same journal says:

"The Legislature of Tennessee having ratified this amendment, her representatives elect were forthwith admitted to seats in either House, they taking the required oath that they never voluntarily aided the rebellion. *And every other ex-rebel State* MAY COME IN ON THE SAME TERMS."

Note the *present tense!* Not, "might have come in," but, "*may* come in"—may yet come in, may now come, may come next Winter, "on the terms accepted by Tennessee!"

We add no argument.

We would merely warn Andrew Johnson that his palm has a claimant.

OUR acknowledgments for July and August are expected to appear next week.

ANDREW JOHNSON RESPONSIBLE.

IT is no time to mince matters. Soft words make poor weapons when the claims of national justice are to be urged. Kid gloves are not wanted on fists that are to strike blows hard, lusty, strong. Disguises must be stripped off, and men and things called by their right names. Parties must stand aside, and every temporary policy yield, in presence of the terrible crisis now precipitated upon the nation.

Whither are we drifting? Congress, that commenced its session with bright promise, has given us disappointment, and succumbed to the admission of Tennessee without exacting impartial suffrage as the price of admission, thus yielding up the very principle of vitality underlying the whole matter of reconstruction. The enemies of Congress taunt it with this fact, and by it are encouraged to work upon the President, who, drunk with ambition if with no other *spirit*, is stirring up a new rebellion, the first acts of which were the wholesale murders in Memphis and New Orleans, perpetrated by unhung rebels, under the inspiration afforded by his policy.

Whither are we drifting? To anarchy under the guise of law. This last despotism in New Orleans shows it. A peaceable meeting, an adjourned Convention, held by peaceable citizens, is broken up because the men who controlled it were Union men, and were acting in the true interests of Union and freedom, and only because of their Unionism. Here, then, fellow-citizens, *your* sacred rights are invaded, under the connivance of your President who, having sworn to support the laws that give us peace and security, perjures himself by ordering *your* soldiers to take sides with the rebels you have fought on many a bloody field, by putting down the very men who so ably in the South defended *your* cause—Union. Why? Because this Convention was to take measures that would result in the disfranchising of rebels and enfranchising Union men, thus virtually criticising the man who has had the impudence and temerity to set up his individual will against the august majesty of the will of the American people. "Be we men and suffer such dishonor?"

This bloodshed at New Orleans is more than a "riot." It is revolution, rebellion, intended as such by the rebels who planned it, encouraged thereto by the White House traitor who designs to turn the whole country over to Southern rebel rule. It is no riot, but one of the first steps in the plan to use United States bayonets to crush out all the Union men of the South and restore to political power the murderers and thieves and blackguards who for so many years plotted treason in the very Halls of Congress and who made Washington a hell by their dark deeds of bludgeon and bowie-knife legislation. Having gone thus far, the President-traitor must take another step for consistency's sake and for success.

He has revived the Democratic party. *He* has warmed into existence the Northern Copperheads. *He*—indirectly though it may be—is killing the Union men of the South, white men as well as black. First it was the "nigger" in Memphis. Now it is the white man in New Orleans. Then with a united South, and a divided North, he must inevitably be led to the perpetration of deeds that will send this nation reeling through the pages of history. *He* is the author and founder of the Philadelphia Convention. The thirty-six States were these represented and recognized; and what shall prevent him from claiming a Congress in which they shall be acknowledged? With this claim on his part, what can stop him, having control of the army and navy, from enforcing his pretended rights of Dictatorship through blood? If he in his own mind is prepared—*which he is*—will he stop at a petty slaughter of fifty or one hundred men? Suppose a convention is held in a Northern city to urge upon the next Congress the necessity of impeaching the President, can he not and *will* he not order United States Marshals to disperse such assemblies as treasonable, and, if necessary, send United States troops to help them? We do not wish to "cry baby," but the times demand that we look square in the face of the dangers impending.

Look at Missouri. That State has a registry law excluding rebels from the polls. The rebels threaten resistance. Gov. Fletcher is organizing the militia in the interior to enforce the law. What is the supreme traitor at Washington doing? "It is stated that the Liberty Arsenal, located in a town which was robbed in broad daylight, last Spring, by less than twenty rebels, is now being filled with arms and ammunition by an order from Washington?" (*Toledo Blade*). The new rebellion inaugurated in New Orleans, to be continued in Missouri, *where* will it end? Wake up, citizens, and understand and *realize* what is being done by one of the most atrocious traitors who ever wielded power, and who now has two years longer in which to carry our beloved country to the verge of ruin. Will you submit to these things? With Mr. Johnson, it is, now or never, and the now will create its opportunity. Have you not had enough of blood? Then wait until the present governmental policy develops itself. *Then*, if you wish to prevent bloodshed you must down on your knees and accept the South for your master, speaking through its chosen instrument, Andrew Johnson, the Pretender of these latter days.

Our liberties are again in danger, for our foes are not on the battle-field where their movements can be seen, but in the Cabinet, controlled by an Executive who has at his command a vast political machinery that can be used in secret. We have everything to fear from the bad President, who has shown himself unworthy of the slightest confidence, as treacherous to new friends as to his old, bankrupt in principle, devoid of moral perception, in alliance with all that is bad in political human nature, corrupt as the Despot of France—mad with power and self-deception.

What then shall be done? Prepare for the worst. Believe that the President will shed your blood before he will allow himself to be thwarted. Realize that he means revolution under the name of law. Keep out of office miniature Johnsons, and nominate only men pledged to undo the calamity heaped upon us in the nomination of Andrew Johnson to the Vice-Presidency. Trust no Southern traitor, and regard that party as traitors that urge the claims of rebels. See to it that the test-oath is preserved in all its purity and strength. Make public opinion. Instil it into the minds of your Congressmen and State officers. Stir up your Union Leagues to definite actions. Permit no shuffling in your State Conventions, but make the leaders come out decidedly and decisively and declare that the country shall be saved by enacting justice into law.

T.

WE call attention to the sayings of Secretary Seward, quoted in our Summary, and to the extract from *Wilkes' Spirit of the Times* (written some weeks ago), on the same topic.

NEXT week, we intend to give a fuller account of the Baltimore attempt at a repetition of New Orleans. Our Summary contains an outline of the facts.

PERSONAL.

James Harlan has left the Department of the Interior.

The new department of Maj.-Gen. Alfred H. Terry, lately commanding in Virginia, will embrace Salt Lake City, where Gen. Terry will establish his headquarters.

Cornelius Wendell has been appointed Superintendent of Public Printing, vice Defrees, removed for being a Radical.

Ex-Gov. John M. Morehead, of North Carolina, died at Rockbridge, Alum Springs, Va. He belonged to the better class of Southern politicians, and possessed considerable ability. He was Chairman of the Convention which nominated Zachary Taylor.

Miss Frances E. Willard,

territories. The Free-soil men of the Onondaga district elected him to the 34th Congress, in 1855; where he rapidly gained foes from the South by his bold course, one of whom made a ruffianly assault on him. Gen. Granger was then 67 years of age. His argument in Congress, to prove that slavery was not authorized by the Constitution of the United States, gave much offense to the South and was one of the reasons for his re-election to the 35th Congress. He served from 1855 to 1860, but was, in 1856, attacked by paralysis, from which he never recovered. He was an upright and brave man.

The Philadelphia *Press* states that the friends of the Rev. Mansfield French, who is connected with the Freedmen's Bureau in South Carolina, have commenced proceedings against the proprietors of the New York *Times* for the publication of the accusations made against him by B. C. Truman, in his letter, dated Beaufort, July 1, 1865, which was lately published in that paper. The charges are claimed to be false and malicious *in toto*.

John Pierpont, who suddenly died in Medford, Mass., on the 27th ult., was born in Litchfield, Conn., April 6, 1785, and graduated at Yale College in 1804. He was, successively, teacher, lawyer, merchant, preacher of the Gospel, chaplain, and clerk in the Federal Treasury, which position he held at the time of his death. He was the author of several educational books, and an earnest advocate, in his way, of the Anti-Slavery and temperance reforms. He presided over the recent National Convention of Spiritualists at Providence, R. I.

A more elaborate obituary notice, sent by a friend, has been crowded out.

LETTER FROM SOUTH CAROLINA.

BEAUFORT, S. C., August 15, 1866.

To the Editor of the Standard:

SIR: This afternoon, though warm, we are enjoying a fine breeze from the broad river which flows past the town, fanning and cooling every nook and street, making our little city pleasant and cheerful for man and beast.

This beautiful site, with its refreshing breezes, has long since given Beaufort the preference of all other places on this coast, as being the Saratoga of South Carolina. While enjoying the above favors, and being prompted by the noble sentiments set forth in the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD (a copy of which I received, through the politeness of Maj. A. J. Gill, of Boston, Mass.), I have been induced to submit a few items of information that have passed immediately under my notice in this vicinity.

I presume that Miss Gill will be happy to learn that her old school-room at Gray's Hill is now being used by a Sabbath-school, in which some of her pupils are engaged as teachers. It is desired, and the desire has been expressed by many, that, on the return of the cooler months, Miss G. may also return with co-laborers to engage in this, the noble work of moulding the young idea.

The passage of the Freedmen's Bureau bill over the veto, was hailed with great joy among the freedmen, many of whom are determined to purchase each his or her twenty acres when the sale takes place. The original owners, who have been in hopes of recovering their lands, received the news as a piece of great injustice. That their splendid Sea Island plantations are to be parceled out among their former slaves, is to them truly humiliating, and produces anything but kind feelings in them towards the government, some having no bounds to their rage.

The citizens assembled *en masse* at the village of St. Helena on the 3d inst., and passed resolutions indorsing the act of Congress in regard to the above bill, and chose Mr. Hurn to represent them at the Philadelphia Convention.

The crops on this and the adjacent island are said to be equal if not superior (in growth) to the crops raised on these islands for many a year before the war.

The cotton, however, will be inferior in quality, owing to the fact that the seed has been deteriorating during the war, by having become mixed with what is called the green seed, which grows on the main land.

Please find inclosed a specimen of new cotton, picked on the 11th inst., grown and matured in four months and six days from the seed, the staple of which varies in proportion to its mixture with the green seed, averaging, I think, through the first picking on these islands, about three-fifths green seed.

Yours, etc., U. S. A.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, September 3, 1866.

WITH US, as far as we can now judge, August and September seem to have agreed to change works. Never was such an August known before. Most of its days had the mild and grateful temperature of the latter half of September and some of them gave us rather too cool mornings and evenings, but not one had the damp, moist, "dem'd unpleasant," muggy sultriness usually characteristic of August. These features came in with the present month, and on this third of September we have had three days of this description. The first Sunday after the Summer vacation was precisely of that sort in honor (or fear) of which the Summer vacation was instituted. But the heat helps to ripen the corn, and probably does other good service.

"Not what we wish, but what we want,
Let mercy still provide."

Since I last wrote you, we have had two great meetings in Boston in honor of the President of the Johnson party. The Democrats and copperheads who united to form these meetings, called themselves "National Union men," and their speakers took the name of the Constitution in vain as profanely and as persistently as those of the old Bell-Everett party used to do. The first of these meetings, called to hear Senator Doolittle, of Wisconsin, and ex-Gov. Parsons, of Alabama, assembled in Faneuil Hall and densely filled it. The Irish nation was largely represented there, both in the audience and on the long list of Vice-Presidents.

The meeting, appropriately enough, was called to order by that Joseph M. Wightman who, when Mayor of this city, helped the Anti-Abolition mobs instead of repressing them, and who, in the Tremont Temple, addressed a peculiarly brutal gathering of that sort in these words: "Citizens of Boston, hear the Mayor whom you have elected." To the meeting now in question he said that they "had assembled in this temple of liberty to listen to the advocates of peace and the restoration of the Union, and to show their sympathy with President Johnson in his efforts to restore the Union and maintain the Constitution"—and he then proceeded to read the list of officers which the Committee of Arrangements had agreed upon. The President of the meeting judiciously occupied as little as possible of its time, and proceeded to introduce Senator Doolittle, of Wisconsin, with the statement—somewhat vague, if designed as a compliment—that he, when the Union was in most eminent peril, had "said what he meant and meant what he said." The audience, however, were kind enough to applaud this, and the distinguished stranger came forward, amidst vehement clapping of hands and shouts of "Hi, hi, hi," as the manner of that people is.

Senator Doolittle did not fulfil the promise (or threat) expressed in his name. He spoke an hour and three-quarters, and held his audience in unbroken number and unmixed attention. Even this audience—and you know what sort of people the mass of partisan Democrats are—he held until ten o'clock, standing in that heated hall, by a speech which, however spiced with calumny, sophistry and falsehood, was calm, deliberate and dignified in manner.

The audacity of Mr. Doolittle's assumptions was stupendous and magnificent. His argument, transferred to another (yet a kindred) subject, would go to show that Ketchum, the forger, on being arrested, should have had no trial, no sentence, and no imprisonment, but should at once have been restored to his place as one of the managers of the wealthy firm to which he had belonged, only taking an oath that thenceforth he would be faithful to it. To be sure, he had been a liar, a cheat and a forger. Those were faults, no doubt; but they were faults of the past, and it would not be magnanimous to refer to them. If he was now willing to say, and swear, that he *would* be honest—d—d if he wouldn't—why should he not be believed? This was the fair, reasonable, charitable view. But if there were people prejudiced enough to resist it, here was the impregnable argument. Ketchum was a member of that firm by certain articles of agreement, a legal document, representing a Constitution, by which the rights and duties of members of the firm were defined. This document was the *law* of the firm, and by its expressed provisions, and not otherwise, must the members of the firm be judged. Now observe, gentlemen of the jury, intelligent members of the mercantile community—this document says not one word about forgery; does not hint at the existence or possibility of any such thing; does not specify *any* case in which a member of this firm shall be degraded from his position in it, and refused free access to the ledger and the safe! I rest my case here. Mr. Ketchum has a *right*, by the very TERMS OF THE CONTRACT, to hold his place as a managing partner; you have, therefore, *no* right to interfere with his return!

This was Senator Doolittle's great point: What right had one set of States to "demand new conditions" of another set, requiring of them pledges or terms not specified *in the Constitution?* undertaking to limit their official action by provisions which the Constitution does not prescribe, and for reasons to which it does not even refer? The matter which he seemed to think self-evident, though he spent an hour and three-quarters in insisting upon it, was this: Since the framers of the Constitution did not think of the possibility of treason and rebellion being organized *by States*, we are to ignore the existence of such a crime, to leave it without any judicial arrangements for the present or precautions for the future, and to leave to those who committed it full powers and opportunities to repeat their felony! Where the Constitution does not speak, justice, common law and common sense have no right to speak!

To bring feeling in aid of *argument*, Mr. Doolittle introduced a sublimely impudent hypothetical case, asking his audience how New England would feel, if hereafter, by a combination of the South and the West, restive under the tariff, she should be excluded from representation. It was exceedingly dangerous for New England to maintain the doctrine that Congress has a right to exclude the representatives of the Southern States.

Before closing, Mr. Doolittle made special and vehement objection to the requisition of negro suffrage. This, he said, was a question which should be left to the several States to decide, each for itself. It could not be enforced in the South without creating a war of races which would deluge the whole land in blood; and if this condition were enforced, the Southern States would never be admitted. Somebody in the audience called out: They never ought to be admitted! The speaker insisted no further upon that point, and closed soon after with denunciation of the Constitutional Amendment proposed by Congress, as unnecessary and unjust.

The President then introduced ex-Gov. Parsons of Alabama, who was received with enthusiastic applause, but, for some reason or other, was not listened to with such attention as his predecessor. His speech, from the very commencement, seemed to have a moving effect on the audience. A steady and continuous stream moved towards the doors. The speaker did his best to seem unconscious of this *exodus*, but it became more and more difficult for him to speak, and for the *resident* portion of the audience to hear; and after ten minutes, the diminution of the assembly became so painfully manifest that the President came to the rescue. He knew (the benevolent apologist said) that many were obliged to leave at that hour, to catch the last cars for their out-of-town homes. He recommended therefore that all such should go at once, that the remainder might quietly hear the very interesting statement made by their Southern friend. Everybody was immediately still, and it appeared that the suburban citizens *had* gone. The distinguished visitor recommenced, but in two minutes the movement outward recommenced also, and continued. In spite of a renewed interposition of the President, and cries of "Go on" from a few sympathizing friends when the speaker said that he did not wish to "force himself" upon their attention, the attempt was manifestly vain, and the Southern brother left unspoken the bulk of the speech which he had come so far to deliver. His closing remarks, however, made it manifest that he felt deeply wounded, and that he considered himself to have been refused a hearing by the Democrats of Boston.

The second of the meetings to which I have referred was called by the same set of people, and was designed to draw an audience for Montgomery Blair in the Tremont Temple. The hall was well-filled, but not crowded. With a judicious eye to appearances, the managers had arranged with an organist to play some patriotic airs while the audience were waiting. He did so, and the audience, catching the idea, really applauded Yankee Doodle, Hail Columbia and the Star Spangled Banner. One brother, with more honesty than discretion, called out for "Dixie." But no one seconded the motion, and the music and applause went on just as they would have done in an assembly of loyalists.

The President of this meeting was John Quincy Adams, son of Charles Adams. At the mention of his name, and again when he advanced to take the chair, there was enthusiastic cheering. He announced that thoroughly, honestly, and from the bottom of his heart, he endorsed the principles of the Philadelphia Convention; and then, stating that he hoped, at some early opportunity, to express his ideas more fully upon that subject, he introduced Montgomery Blair as the orator of the evening.

Mr. Blair's address—which had neither the merit of sound argument nor the attractiveness of eloquence, and the monotonous tameness of which drove away some hundreds of his audience after half an hour's trial—contained some extraordinary specimens of assertion and assumption. Congress, he said, has decided that the people shall *not* have the right of self-government. Our troubles began by a contest between South and North about slavery, but he (Blair) had always been opposed to slavery, and always the special friend and advocate of the North. Why should Alexander H. Stephens be excluded from Congress? (Vehement cheers for A. H. Stephens.) It was Edwin Stanton who instigated the rebellion, and who is now instigating another. Mr. Blair declared himself the especial friend of the negro race. They are kindly, affectionate, true-hearted. They are also brave, and they stood by their masters bravely in the rebellion. But they are not, said Mr. Blair, fit to govern you and me. Their voting, at the South, would never be tolerated, because the jealousy of caste would interfere with it. Still less could there be any intermingling of the blood of the two races; that was so repugnant to the feelings of both that it must be pronounced impossible. The late riot in New Orleans was instigated, in secret caucus at Washington, by Stanton and Boutwell, who intended to organize a government of negroes from the Rio Grande to the Potomac. These are the most unprincipled men the world ever saw. As to rebels, there are none now in the country.

When Mr. Blair sat down, a loud call was made for Gen. John L. Swift. This gentleman (recently appointed Naval Officer for the port of Boston) came forward with alacrity, and made amends for the dullness of his predecessor by giving the Johnsonians a speech of the spread-eagle or highfalutin sort. He roared. He bellowed. He strode majestically from side to side of the platform, and threw his head back and his arms abroad to the limits of possibility. He liked Blair, and Blair's brother. He had enjoyed the high gratification of attending "that august and imposing affair," the Convention at Philadelphia, and thence had come the rarest emotions of pleasure that had ever swelled his heart. Philadelphia was like Pisgah for the glorious view of the future which the prospect from it had opened. Pursuing the ecstatic visions thus conjured up, and declaring himself to be bound to that land of Canaan, Gen. Swift screamed himself hoarse in fifteen or twenty minutes from his commencement, and sat down; and the audience indulged themselves with three cheers for Andrew Johnson before dispersing.

To touch upon a pleasanter subject before closing my letter—I have to-day had the satisfaction of seeing a specimen of the finest sea-island cotton from Beaufort, S. C., from land where the management, as well as the labor, is conducted entirely by colored men.

This cotton, beautifully light, soft, white and clean, was picked, August 11th, from the garden of Mr. Walter Fuller, in Beaufort, and was sent by him to one of the teachers of the freed people who has lately come from there on a short visit to her Northern friends. The seed was planted on the 16th of March last, so that the cotton has grown and matured in four months and twenty-six days.

It is pleasant to see even a beginning of the results of free labor from the hands of these long-abused men and women. God grant that the rights of free labor and free education may be continued to them, and that the right of suffrage may be speedily added. God grant that they may not be driven by further persecution to lay down the shovel and the hoe, and take up the musket. But the times look as though their Pharaoh, who for a time called himself Moses, is more and more hardening his heart against them. NORTH.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 3, 1866.

To the Editor of the Standard:

ON the day that Andrew Johnson was here, receiving the congratulations of his subservient and self-seeking partisans, the loyal men of our city were nominating some of his Radical foes to represent them in the Fortieth Congress. Among this number, I am glad to be able to name William D. Kelley. Notwithstanding the repeated and apparently well-devised projects that were arranged for securing his defeat, there was no sign of strife or rivalry in the action of the nominating convention. Many were anxious to have him displaced, and although their opposition was manifested by an activity equal to the determination of their purpose, they were powerless to accomplish what they undertook. The selection was unanimous, and made by acclamation. Any other result would surely have been a national calamity. The mass of the people in the district are too wise and too keenly alive to the wants and exigencies of the hour, to think for one moment of giving Judge Kelley's seat to another. They are proud of their representative; they know his weight and worth, his influence, capacity and reputation; they know that their action was such as to give joy and courage, hope and cheer, to thousands of loyalists in the South, both black and white, the sadly persecuted victims of misrule and injustice. Many there are who, on the day he was renominated, were bestowing obsequious attention on Andrew Johnson, that would have exulted merrily and with unfeigned delight in his failure, and who will still exult should he be defeated at the polls. But they know that his election is sure, too sure, at least to justify them in the sweet nurture of a solitary doubt.

The travelling President and his party—the political batch, at least—were not very well pleased with their reception here. There were no official dignitaries to greet them with a welcome. They were obliged to content themselves with a common-place ceremony, and to listen to the speech of reception from the lips of a comparatively obscure individual, whose name they had never heard. It is said that the President was not in a remarkably placid frame of mind during his stay, but gave himself up to that humor which goes by the name of grumbling. His principal speech was coarse, uncouth, trashy and contemptible. It was pitifully shabby, and inferior in its meanness. It alone was all-sufficient to make any respectable American citizen ashamed of the President of our country. Despicable creature! One sentence in his speech has given rise to some controversy. In directing his remarks to an "association of tailors," he thought to give dignity and loftiness to their calling by bidding them remember that "our great Father in heaven, the Lord of the world, was a tailor by trade." His near friends, who have great reason to be mortified with his exhibition here, have zealously endeavored to polish his remarks into decency. Of course they deny that the words quoted above were uttered by their saint of a President. They manifest their deep chagrin by their eagerness to cover up this heathenish disgrace.

On Friday evening last an immense meeting was held in front of the Union League House, to listen to Thomas J. Durant, one of the prominent loyalists of New Orleans, who was a witness to the horrible atrocities enacted there, and who escaped the fury and vengeance of the officially organized mob. We were able to hear from the lips of this persecuted champion of human rights that sad and mournful tale of woe. Every new recital of that dreadful narrative causes the heart to burn anew with anguish and unforgiving reprobation. Mr. Durant evinces a spirit of regard and concern towards the colored people of that unhappy city and of the South that is worthy of emulation. He gives emphatic evidence of an earnest sympathy and true interest in their behalf, and makes no distinction between them and others in reference to the application of just principles, and the rights sacred to humanity. He charges upon the people of the North a share of the guilt in the appalling tragedy of the 30th of July, and had the boldness to tell them that their skirts were not freed from the stain of blood. He called upon them to aid in giving justice to all, and to empower these black allies of the true men of the South with the protecting privilege of the ballot.

A. J. Hamilton followed Mr. Durant in a brief but forcible speech, animated by a like wise and noble spirit, and was even more radical than he. He declared that the colored men of the South deserved, and by right and in the name of justice ought to be secured, the ballot. To talk of the establishment of peace in the South until the right of suffrage were bestowed upon this loyal class, he considered utterly idle. Fervently and with genuine enthusiasm he called upon the people to do justice to every man, and to aid in bestowing upon all each sacred human right. As we would have justice done to us, so must we accord it unto others, allowing neither the spirit of prejudice nor the wrong of an odious distinction to sway us from that righteous duty. Those radical words, so fervidly uttered, were echoed back from the listening throng with wild tumults of applause. Surely, these unreserved Southerners, so outspoken in behalf of the black man, will do good by example to the timid Radicals of the North, those who are so careful, so exceedingly cautious in their utterances touching the most essential rights of the negro. They need to be nerved up and fired with a truer, heartier and sublimer consciousness of personal duty concerning the paramount cause of universal justice.

The procession to-day would have delighted your eyes and gladdened your heart. It was a magnificent escort to the delegates to the Convention, awakening our city into an ecstasy of joy; but the feature especially a source of delight to foremost Radicals was the presence, in that long line of earnest men, of Frederick Douglass, together with two others of a hue darker than his. It was a grand sign of an advancing and developing spirit of real democracy and genuine brotherhood. There were Gens. Burnside and Butler, and Gen. Geary, the Republican candidate for Governor of this State; Brownlow, of Tennessee; Hamilton, of Texas; Gov. Andrew, Theodore Tilton, various members of Congress, the solid men of our own city, our firemen, policemen, "boys in blue," members of the celebrated Union League, of the National Union Club, the multitudinous Republican Invincibles, and a general host of distinguished and undistinguished men, and these *three gentlemen of African descent.* Alas! what is to become of our country? How the pure spirit of the old Democracy will tremble with alarm! How the supporters of the "Nero of New Orleans" will grow ghastly with horror and dismay, and how they will fly with heroic rapture to the gallant duty of striking terror into all the common people of our land! Of course, Mr. Douglass will enter the Convention like any other member, and participate in its weighty deliberations. W.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 4th, 1866.

No morning ever dawned upon the Quaker City more beautifully than did that of yesterday—the first day of the great Southern Loyal Convention. Delegates have been flocking in from every Southern State—in many instances compelled to steal away secretly from their homes—until a full Convention has assembled, and a body of as glorious and noble men as ever existed have been called together. And still they come. From the North, the East, the West, a perfect avalanche of the great, the good, the patriotic, the true friends of human liberty and political equality. The hotels are full to overflowing. Private houses are opening their doors, and extending their hospitality, and never before has this beautiful city and its good inhabitants made such demonstrations of welcome as they are now extending to the fire-tried loyalists of the South. This is a most decided contrast to the sullen, silent, undemonstrative greeting that met the mob of blood-stained traitors of only two weeks ago. To-day the city seems enveloped in bunting and decorations, whereas then scarcely a stand of the national colors greeted the eye or flaunted a welcome to treason. Equally so with the reception of *His great Accidency.* The good people of Philadelphia concluded to let him *severely alone*, and they succeeded most admirably. All is joy and enthusiasm. The earnest and sincere workers of the nation are again together, and they meet this time for something more than mere congratulations and political clap-trap. They mean work. They intend not only to infuse into the giant heart of the American people the spirit that imbues this great movement, so that the coming Fall elections shall be a thorough and perfect success, but they intend to place the Republican party upon a higher and broader platform than it has ever before occupied. They intend that this Convention shall be the great doorway through which American civilization shall march on to full realization and practicalization of impartial suffrage and a complete establishment of the political and civil rights of all American citizens.

To be sure, there are those among us who are fearful of the issue. Perhaps a considerable portion of the Northern wing of this Convention would prefer that the body, as a whole, should adopt the present platform as their base of action—should accept the Report of the Reconstruction Committee of Congress, and drop the great question of impartial suffrage until after the Fall elections; but this will not be permitted. The Southern men have come up here for the express purpose of enfranchising their black brother, and they will leave no means untried that the power of petition and persuasion gives them, to accomplish that work. There is a very considerable opposition to the admission of Frederick Douglass as a delegate, but it is entirely from Northern men. Delegates from Indiana have declared that they should, in accordance with their instructions, withdraw from the Convention if Mr. Douglass was admitted—and opposition to the same end comes from other sources—for all of which we say, God be praised. Now is the accepted time, let the issue be made; and if the party cannot stand the practicalization of its fundamental precepts, why, then, let it fall. But we have no doubt of the result. It *will* stand. Mr. Douglass *will* take his place among his peers, and the platform of the party will be elevated *to his stand-point.*

As one of the Louisiana delegation, I can speak for that body, and promise their full support to the cause. *We have illustrated the question* by placing among our delegates a colored citizen of Louisiana, and we intend to stand by that issue—rise or fall. If there are those of the party who are not yet ripe for such associations, it is better that they should withdraw now, when they have an opportunity, and wheel into line among those of like predilections and prejudices.

We have in our Southern wing a small faction of Conservatives, who, under the leadership of John Minor Botts of Virginia, take the ground that the enfranchisement of the black man will just so much benefit the traitor—but that kind of *blarney* will not do, to preach to Southern loyalists. They know better; they are aware that the only real security they have is an alliance with the negro, and they intend to demand the recognition of his full rights and privileges. They *know* and *believe* in the black man, and are not to be turned away from the great work of his enfranchisement by any special pleading of either Conservative Southern loyalty or weak-backed Northern Republicans.

A temporary organization was effected yesterday. The Hon. Thomas J. Durant of Louisiana, one of her truest and noblest sons—a fearless patriot and a ripe scholar—was elected chairman. Committees upon credentials, rules and permanent officers, were appointed. This morning the body will get into working trim. It is understood that ex-Secretary Speed of Kentucky will be elected President of the Convention, with Brownlow and other noted and tried men as Vice-Presidents.

The Northern wing has completed its organization and is awaiting the summons of its Southern brethren. That they will act quickly and well, there can be no doubt. As an offset to the "happy brotherhood" that appeared to characterize Massachusetts and South Carolina in the late Copper-Johnson Convention, Mr. Frederick Douglass and Theodore Tilton of the *Independent*, walked arm in arm in the procession of yesterday and thus entered the halls of the Convention—a true illustration of what *will be* the spirit of this great body when it shall have completed its labors and adjourned to carry them into effect, in the Fall elections at the North. VIATOR.

LITERARY.

The *Atlantic* exhibits a great array of titles this time, with *some* good matter behind them. The opening tale is based, as the current taste requires, on a war episode. It is sufficiently characterized, if we say it is "Summer reading," in the weaker acceptation of that term. Some of Hawthorne's notes are very golden drops, others "somewhat less so," as usual. The greatness of simple truth, of course, is always about them. But still, they will yet bear selection. "Woman's work in the Middle Ages," is a topic deserving wider and deeper treatment than it receives in Mrs. Waterston's article. Still, the paper thus entitled, is a very enjoyable anecdotal conglomeration. Mrs. Stowe, from her homiletic nook near the fire-place, discourses very sensibly on youthful amusements. She wants them regulated with loving sympathy by those not directly concerned in, because having outgrown, them. The supercilious or petulant indifference manifested by the "wise people," and the subsequent and consequent lamentation over extravagancies and errors, are always of a piece, though not of peace. Dr. Hedge advocates "University Reform," from a broad plane. Freedom is the vital condition of correct mental growth, as well as of physical. This is the Doctor's leading idea, and right well he elaborates it. "Griffith Gaunt" introduces us to a murder-trial, which develops some noble traits of character, and gives the author an occasion to exhibit his dramatic power. Mercy Vint appears an angel, not only to Sir George, but to the reader; albeit, the redundancy of strongly-expressive adjectives, in the description of the prayer-scene, mars the ideal purity of the narrative. "Incidents of the Portland Fire" is not more than its title imports—a string of scraps from the newspapers, naked and incoherent, which deserves no place in a magazine. "Yesterday" will satisfy reflective minds, provided they are not *too deeply* reflective, and are willing to take a ragout of many fine words with their meat. "The Johnson Party"—editorial—represents the political side of the *Monthly.* It is sharp on the President—as it cannot well help being; but what virtue in that?—It is soft, very soft, on Congress, and does not rise beyond the Amendment doctrine. Longfellow's sonnet, on translating Dante, is said to be the "gem" of this number—for poetry. It is so, easily.

The *Edinburgh Review* for July — reprint by the Leonard Scott Publishing Company, New York—contains: Mahomet; Weather Forecasts and Storm Warnings; Annals of the Huguenots; Mill's Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy; Baker's Exploration of the Albert Nyanza; The American Navy in the late War; Precious Stones; Charles Lamb; The State of Europe.

Mr. Arnold, the Sixth Auditor of the Treasury, is writing a life of Abraham Lincoln.

Mrs. R. H. Stoddard is engaged on a novel of New England life, to be called "Temple House."

A series of articles on "Webster's Dictionary," by Geo. P. Marsh, is being published in the *Nation.*

John S. C. Abbott is writing "Lives of the American Presidents."

SUMMARY.

THE PRESIDENTIAL EXCURSION.

THE President of the United States, together with Secretaries Seward and Welles, Gen. Grant, Admiral Farragut, and a number of the President's official creatures, has been on an electioneering tour through the Central States since the 28th ult. The ostensible object of the journey is the laying of the foundation for a monument to the late Stephen A. Douglass, at Chicago, Ill. The President's trip has been compared with a similar one made by Gen. Scott in 1852, under the pretext of seeking a site for a military hospital.

The present traveller appears to have used his opportunity as vigorously as his physical powers allowed At every railway station of importance, "my policy" and "the humble individual" were duly and collectively glorified—the President and his Secretary of State being the main actors, while the General and the Admiral were mostly paraded in "dumb show." Andrew Johnson certified that Wm. H. Seward had "done his duty," while the latter gracefully returned the compliment to his political pupil and official superior, and "the people" clapped their hands in glee over the dinners, music and flowers accompanying. At most places, the stumping party met a prearranged assemblage of their partisans, and then "everything was lovely," but in a few instances—especially at Cleveland, O.—the innocent Executive was met by the crowd with disagreeable quotations and reminiscences from his loyal speeches of 1864 and '65; which provoked rather an ill-humor from him. Yet, on the whole, the affair, as a piece of theatrical demagoguery, was quite successfully managed.

On the vote, in the Senate of the State of New York, appointing a committee to officially welcome the President, a motion to include the name of Wm. H. Seward in the resolution was twice lost—by 12 to 8, and by 13 to 7.

—At the reception in New York, on the corner of Maiden-lane and Broadway, the following extract was suspended on a banner:

"Show me the man who makes war on the government and fires on its vessels, and I will show you a traitor. If I were President of the United States I would have all such arrested, and when tried and convicted, by the Eternal God, I would have them hung."
March, 1861. ANDREW JOHNSON.

and at various points of the route, among the bona-fide sentences of welcome, and quotations from the President's recent speeches, were suspended on banners and transparencies, other, less desirable but significant, passages from Andrew Johnson, referring to treason being made "odious," traitors having to "take back seats in the work of reconstruction," the majority of States being "governed by their loyal people—be they white or black," etc.

Two extracts from the Presidential speeches (the first spoken at New York, and the second at Cleveland, O.,) suffice to exemplify their general tone:

"I will repeat, and I thank God that I have the power to repeat it, what I have said elsewhere before, that the August Convention which met in Philadelphia, in the midst of enemies and those who are opposed to the restoration of the Union of these States, was to me a cheering indication that we should come out right in the end. * * * The rebellion has been completely crushed in the South. I intend now to fight the enemies of the Union in the North. God being willing, and with your help, I intend to fight out the battle with Northern traitors."

"If I were disposed to play the orator and deal in declamation to-night, I would imitate one of the ancient tragedians, and would take William H. Seward, and bring him before you, and point you to the hacks and scars upon his person. I would exhibit the bloody garments, saturated with gore from the gushing wounds. Then I would ask you why not hang Thad. Stevens and Wendell Phillips."

Two passages from speeches by the Secretary of State are quite instructive. The first, uttered at New York, is a bid for Southern votes in 1868 for Wm. H. Seward as President; for it softly but firmly attributes to that person the entire credit of the invention and introduction of "my policy." The second, spoken at Niagara, rather strongly hints at the motive of that action.

Both are singularly in accord with the statement we quote from *Wilkes's Spirit of the Times*, in our Press column, this week.

"Now, let me tell you one more Cabinet secret. This present President of the United States had come into his office by the death of his distinguished and lamented predecessor in the month of April, 1865, and, like a prudent man, he waited. There was a dissevered and distracted nation, a dismembered republic, and he waited until I who came of the Northern States and of the Republican party would have strength and health enough to come into his counsels, and he says to me then: Here is my programme upon which I propose to admit the Southern States into the Union so far as depends upon me. And I looked over the programme and at its stringent clauses upon the rebels and I said: Now we have done three things; we have ascertained first what can be got from the Southern States, from the States that are in rebellion, as a concession for their restoration to peace and the Union: first, what can be got; second, all that can be got; and third, that it can be got at the present time, after which no more can be got. Those three things were these: first, the abolition of slavery by their own Constitutions; second, the abolition of the rebel debt by their own organic laws; and third, the abolition of the principle of secession, now, henceforth and forever. Having done these three things, I gave this man my hand and my faith that I would stand by that and stand by him and my fellow-citizens of the city and State of New York, and of the free States from Maine to Delaware, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and say that they will accept these terms, and when they are completed the Union will be restored."

"I tried to save that party from destruction. I tried to show them the way, straight and plain; but they were in the case of the traveller who got bewildered on his way. He was shown two roads, one leading to his destination, the other in the opposite direction, and the record of his decision was that he had not good sense enough to take either way. And so they took neither way, and now where are they? They say we should adhere to the party. I have been a party man; been in three or four parties; and, though generally consistent, and the enemies of that party found me an effective one, yet never was I accused of infidelity. But I never was a party man to that extent that I did not know that the only course, the only true course for a party, is to *follow the head of the party.*"

GENERAL NEWS.

It is denied, on responsible authority, that Gen. Grant was "tricked" into being present at the President's reception of the Philadelphia Rebel Convention Committee.—A State Convention of the colored men of Illinois is to be held on the 17th of October, at Galesburg, to secure equal rights at the ballot-box, in courts of justice, and in the public schools.—The Provost-Marshal-General's Bureau has been abolished.

Gov. FLETCHER of Missouri has issued a proclamation, in which he says that the combined power of the National and State governments will be used to enforce obedience to the laws of the nation and State until such laws are modified or repealed in a constitutional way, or declared void by a competent Court: that the Registration law will be enforced and elections conducted in conformity therewith; that the annual enrollment of militia will be made according to law and irrespective of the political status of opinion; that no arrests will be made except as authorized by law, but that when the civil peace cannot be executed with the assistance of an ordinary posse, the officers will call for the aid of the militia, and that no armed or organized body of men will be allowed to appear at the polls or peaceful assemblages of the people, except by order of the Governor or Department Commander.

Henry Ward Beecher has written a letter, in response to an invitation to act as Chaplain of the Johnson Soldiers' and Sailors' Convention, to be held at Cleveland on the 17th inst.; wherein he expresses his sympathy with that movement, argues at length in favor of an early reconstruction of the South, and shows the evils and dangers incident to the present unsettled condition of national affairs. He advises, however, that, in order to secure to themselves the blessings of Union, the people of the North should consent to leave the four millions of fredmen at the South in their present state of bondage—trusting their and the nation's future to the mercy of the late slaveholders and rebels.

RECONSTRUCTION.

Judge Harbeson, of Kentucky, pronounces the Civil Rights act unconstitutional, and asserts that no law of Congress can annul the laws of Kentucky. Judge Burbank, of Nevada, excluded a colored man from serving on a jury, because, as he said, a law of Congress could not override the Constitution of the State. —In several counties in North Carolina, the Circuit Courts, in making the annual levy for taxes, have included the county debts in aid of the rebellion, and levied to pay county bonds issued to raise Confederate soldiers.—The Circuit Courts in South Carolina discriminate against the freedmen in their applications of law and their decisions and sentences. When freedmen bring complaints they are ordered off and their reports discredited without investigation. A late order of the Charleston Court requires them to pay the costs of trials in advance, otherwise their complaints will receive no attention, nor will any parties committing outrages upon colored people be arrested or tried.—Judge Underwood expresses the opinion that from what he has seen and heard in Richmond, the rebel citizens of that locality will have become so loyal by next October that they will not allow the United States Courts to assemble to try Jeff. Davis.—A. P. Field, lately in Congress, R. King Cutler, Radical United States Senator elect, and Mr. Ferris, a Revenue office-holder, have determined to leave Louisiana permanently.—A strong guard of white soldiers now do duty night and day at the residence of Gov. Wells, of Louisiana, at his own urgent request.—A conference of rebel ministers and laymen, composed of disaffected Presbyterians, dissatisfied with the action of the General Assembly on the slavery question, recently sat at St. Louis, and seceded from the Presbyterian Church proper.—Planters in Mississippi make a practice of driving away their colored laborers just before the expiration of their contracts, after the chief labor of the year has been done, to escape the obligation of paying them. To such an extent has this evil grown, that Maj.-Gen. Wood, commanding the department, has been obliged to issue a general order for its suppression.

The *Tribune* says that the captain of the slave-ship Wanderer has received an appointment in our Custom-House at the request of the President.

Another massacre of negroes has been attempted by the reconstructed. On the night of Aug. 30, a Methodist camp-meeting at Shipley's woods, near Baltimore, Md., was disturbed, and the negro portion of the camp attacked by an organized band of white men, killing one man and wounding others severely. Some of the negroes resisted, but finally they were all driven from the camp, with their wives and children; while their effects were partly stolen—those articles which could not conveniently be carried off being piled together and burned. A city paper says: "Later accounts of the Baltimore massacre show that it was deliberately planned, and the work of rebel soldiers."

THE NEW ORLEANS MASSACRE.

Another suppressed dispatch from Sheridan to Grant has come to light. It is dated Aug. 13, and contains this sentence: "From accounts of my own scouts, who saw the affair, from first to last, from my own officers, from disinterested and faithful persons, I believe that *at least nine-tenths of the casualties* were perpetrated by the police and citizens, by stabbing and smashing in the heads of many who had been already wounded or killed by policemen."

It appears to be settled now that the garbling of Sheridan's first dispatch was done at the White House. It is positively asserted, for Gen. Grant, that he sent the dispatch to the President as received.

The Republican State Committee of Louisiana, on the 8th ult., formally requested the President to maintain martial law in New Orleans, "*at least* until the authors and aiders and abetters of the late massacre shall have been brought to such punishment as will secure the observance of law and order, and protect the lives of Union citizens of New Orleans."

Of course this has effected the opposite of what it was designed to effect.

THE AGE IN WHICH WE LIVE.—As very many persons are unaware of the great nicety with which our railroads are being conducted, a few facts will be appreciated by our numerous readers. The most systematic and best-managed in the United States is conceded to be the BROAD-GAUGE ERIE RAILWAY, it having the best track, cars, and depots, besides being managed by the oldest and most experienced railroad-men in the country and their employes, selected, especially their engineers and mechanics, with whom they deal generously, and in return reap the benefit from master-hands. To the weary, worn traveler who has been subjected to the rough jolting and unpleasant riding that he usually meets with on most railroads, he cannot fail to hail with joy the sudden transition from the small, narrow, close, dusty, and ill-ventilated car to one long, well-ventilated, free from dust, and, in fact, a palatial saloon, where he scarcely feels the motion of the busy wheels as he is carried along with lightning rapidity. The sleeping-cars are a great addition to the numerous improvements, and far surpass anything yet put upon any railroad in existence. Their depots are built with great care and nicety, and eating-saloons (which are under their supervision) put to blush many of our first-class hotels. In this particular line they are decidedly ahead, as no company does so effectually cater to please their patrons, or so well succeed, as the Erie Railway. The stock is in excellent running-order, and their engines, both freight and passenger, are from the best shops, and built respectively for draft and speed. We are glad to see it so thoroughly patronized, and bespeak for them the continued success and patronage of an appreciative public, as they will no doubt receive with the present able management.

Advertisements.

REMOVAL NOTICE.

The office of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society has been removed from No. 5 South Fifth street, to the old stand, No. 107 North Fifth street, where it was formerly located for upwards of twenty years. Specimen numbers of the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD furnished and new subscriptions received as above.

BENJAMIN C. BACON, Corresponding Secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA HALL.

The Board of Managers, having declared a Final Dividend of one dollar and a half per share, upon presentation and surrender of the original certificate of stock to the Treasurer, and only on furnishing the certificates. ELI DILLIN, Treasurer,
14 18 1218 Green street.

50 MAKE YOUR OWN SOAP PER-CENT SAVED BY

USING B. T. BABBITT'S PURE CONCENTRATED POTASH or Ready Soap Maker. Warranted double the strength of common Potash, and superior to any other saponifier or ley in the market. Put up in cans of 1 pound, 2 pounds, 3 pounds, 6 pounds and 12 pounds, with full directions, in English and German, for making Hard and Soft Soap. One pound will make 15 gallons of Soft Soap. No lime is required. Consumers will find this the cheapest Potash in the market.

B. T. BABBIT, Nos. 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 72 and 74 Washington street, New York.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SOUTHERN AFFAIRS.

OFFICIAL FALSEHOODS.

THE SLAVE-CODE IN MISSISSIPPI.

Some of Mr. Seward's omissions in his report on the laws affecting freedmen in the States in reconstruction, are more important than any he thought prudent to commit to Congress. The old anti-negro laws have been re-enacted and declared in full force against freedmen in Mississippi, and the revised penal code makes death the punishment for the commission by a negro of murder, rape, arson, robbery, or the *attempt* to commit such crimes. A white man is hung only for the crime of murder. Twenty lashes are prescribed for every freedman who is found away from his place of employment, and the vagrant law re-enacts that articles that freedmen may be seeking to sell may be appropriated by "civil officers and others." It is punishable for negroes to congregate at night, or hold school, and both ears may be cut off for false witness. These hideous provisions have never been stricken out of the statute book; most of them have been deliberately re-enacted in the vagrant laws; and though the Secretary of State credits Mississippi with acts conferring civil rights on freedmen, and amendatory of the vagrant laws, there these shameful features of blind and cruel barbarism remain, as Mr. Seward well and knows. What Secretary of State is general slave-driver now, and who is carrying out the Dred Scott decision? We are aware that Mr. Seward has made the same omissions in his presentment of the code of other "late insurgent States," and at another time we shall endeavor to supply more of his omissions.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

—The dispatch on which the above is based, gives the details as follows:

Secretary Seward, in response to the resolution of the House to furnish them with a copy of all laws, etc., passed by Legislatures South affecting Freedmen, omitted the following in his report from Mississippi's recent code:

Section 4. Be it further enacted, That all the penal and criminal laws now in force in this State, defining offences and prescribing the mode of punishment for crimes and misdemeanors committed by slaves, free negroes, or mulattoes, be and the same are hereby re-enacted and declared to be in full force and effect against freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes, except so far as the mode and manner of trial and punishment have been changed or altered by law.

According to the Revised Code of Mississippi, the mode and manner of trial and punishment is as follows:

Article 58, section 9, p. 248 Revised Code, makes it punishable with death for a negro to murder, commit rape, burn houses, commit robbery, *or attempt to commit such crimes.*"

Whites are punishable with death for the crime of murder only—their punishment for other offences varies. The attempt to commit them is meted with slight and varied justice.

Article 45, page 245, provides that a slave shall receive 20 lashes if he is found away from the place of his employment.

Re-enacted for the freedmen by the Vagrant law.

Art. 46—p. 246. Awards 29 lashes to the slave far buying or selling without written permission.

Re-enacted for the freedmen.

Art. 47—p. 246. Allows civil officers and others to appropriate to their own use any article a slave may be seeking to sell.

Re-enacted for the freedmen by Vagrant law, and explains why negro robbery in Mississippi is not corrected by the civil authorities.

Art. 51. p. 247—Makes it punishable for negroes to congregate at night, or hold school, etc.

Re-enacted as above.

Art. 63. p. 246—Both ears are to be cut off for false witness.

Notwithstanding the Constitutional Convention abolished slavery in the States, these several laws were never stricken off the statute book, and provided they might be understood to have done so in their freeing the negroes, this fourth section of the new code expressly re-enacts the old laws. It will be borne in mind that free negroes and mulattoes are herein expressed, and none but such are now in the State.

Mr. Seward gave the State credit for—

First: An act to confer civil rights on freedmen.

Second: An act to regulate the relation of master and apprentices, as relates to freedmen, free negroes, and mulattoes.

Third: An act to amend the vagrant laws of the State.

RECONSTRUCTION IN PRACTICE.

MARYLAND.

The Boonsborough *Odd Fellow* publishes an account of what it styles the "last rebel raid in Boonsborough." A Johnson meeting was called at that place, and among those in attendance were rebels from Lee's army, from Gilmore's brigade, and from Mosby's bushwhackers. The party was headed by a renegade Marylander, who used to pilot rebel raiders into and through that section during the war. Of the proceedings of the gang, the *Tribune* quotes as follows:

"It soon became evident that a majority of them had come to the meeting, not to hear any one speak, but to have a fight with the Union men of the town, if possible. Slurs and insults were thrown at them as they quietly passed by, and every effort made to provoke a retort, and thus give a pretext for their work of ruffianism and rebel malignity. Their efforts soon succeeded, and in an unguarded moment Mr. Elias Cost replied to their insults, which at once led to a cowardly assault upon him by about fifty *rebel braves*, with slung-shots, billies, clubs, etc. At the same time Mr. Jonas Davis was also attacked and shamefully beaten and bruised up. But few Union men were present, and Mr. Cost was almost left alone to contend with the whole rebel crowd. He at last succeeded in escaping from them, and ran for the United States Hotel, followed by the whole gang, who were hurling stones and clubs at him, and crying out, 'shoot him, hang him, kill him,' etc.

"No sooner did Mr. Cost take refuge in the United States Hotel than the rebels made an attack upon, and attempted to force their way into the private room where Mrs. Nyman and her child were, and where Mr. Cost had taken refuge from their fiendish fury, his face and head already bruised and battered up by stones and billies. They were kept back, however, and thus Mr. Cost escaped with his life."

VIRGINIA.

Fortress Monroe, Friday, Aug. 17, 1866.

The troubles at Drummondtown, on the Eastern Shore of Virginia, between the whites and blacks, which were suppressed several weeks ago by a detachment of troops sent there to restore quiet, have again broken out. A telegram was sent to Richmond for a company of troops, and yesterday afternoon Company F, 12th United States Infantry, Lieut. Keys commanding, arrived here from Richmond. The detachment, fifty in number, was sent from here this evening on the tug Geneva, and will be stationed for some length of time on the Eastern Shore, or at least until there is some prospect of the causes of the disturbance being removed. On last Monday, an encounter occurred between parties of the whites and blacks, some of whom were under the influence of liquor; but, by the prompt exertions of the agent of the Freedmen's Bureau stationed at Drummondtown, it was quelled before any serious results ensued.

—A company of the Regulars at Fortress Monroe were lately transferred across the Bay to Accomac county, to quell the growing spirit of disaffection. The militia organization of the above-named county, provided for by the late Richmond Legislature, has been fully equipped, and is commanded thoroughly by late prominent rebel officers. By direction of the Sheriff they have been visiting the houses of negroes, searching for arms, and, in addition to taking these, and from returned soldiers, who have purchased them by consent of the government, acts of petty pilfering are complained of. No Bureau officer being stationed here, there is no ready means of redress. The negroes were about taking measures for their own protection. At the next militia muster, trouble is anticipated. By a contribution of fifty cents per man, the colored population within the past two days raised a fund of $800, which they propose to spend in securing, legally, if possible, their rights.

NORTH CAROLINA.

A card from Maj.-Gen. John M. Palmer, late President of the Whittlesey court-martial in North Carolina, appears in the *Tribune*, containing this:

"With reference to the Union people who once had slaves before the war, no truthful account can be otherwise than gloomy. Immediately after the collapse of the rebellion, men of all parties in the South supposed that the government of the United States would give its confidence and extend the fullest protection to the men who adhered to the Union during the war. This expectation was so reasonable that the rebels could not object to it, and the Union men, encouraged by it, commenced the organization of a party in North Carolina.

"The election of the rebel candidate, Gov. Worth, over Gov. Holden and his administration, supported, as it has been, by the Washington authorities, destroyed these hopes and this party. The consequence is, that a few Union men have consented to become the tail of the rebel kite, and have gone to Philadelphia to witness the reconciliation of those who were never enemies. They, like Northern Union men who have gone to the same place on the same errand, will be heard of as Union men no more. Those who have declined the alliance with rebels are disheartened, and have not the courage to adopt the only courses which are now open to them, affiliation with the Union party of the Northern States, and the extension of the ballot to all. When they do this, they will commence an organization for success."

Washington, Monday, August 13, 1866.

Maj.-Gen. John M. Palmer, who has been at Raleigh, N. C., the past two months, reports the state of affairs in the South as perfectly hopeless for Union men. For fear of personal violence, those who would visit him came at night, urging secrecy on his part as to their conference. The reconstructed openly and defiantly insult Union officers in the streets, and their treatment towards Unionists and freedmen is pitiable in the extreme. —*Cor. N. Y. Tribune.*

—A recent Washington dispatch says:

"One hundred and sixty emigrants from Western North Carolina arrived this morning in Baltimore, on their way to new homes in Indiana. They varied in ages from 70 to infancy. They are all Union families, and unanimously expressed the fact that they were not safe at home, as the same men who had held office under the Confederacy were now in authority, and it was impossible for loyalists to obtain justice in the civil courts. Unless there was a change soon, Union families would have to leave the State or band together for their own salvation and protection."

—Gen. R. K. Scott, Assistant Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau for the State of South Carolina, in a recent report to Gen. Howard, incloses a communication from two intelligent colored men of Charleston, in which they represent that the circuit provost court of that city, in all its judicial proceedings, invariably discriminates in favor of white men, only imposing light fines, in all cases where outrages have been committed on the freedmen, while the complaints of the latter are frequently disregarded. A late order of this Court requires them to pay the costs of trials in advance, otherwise their complaints will receive no attention, nor will any parties committing outrages upon colored people be arrested or tried. The Civil Rights bill is ignored by the courts, and the Judges assign as a reason that they have not received official notice that the Court is to be regulated by its provisions, although it is known to be the law of the National Legislature. They conclude by saying that the present state of things must lead to great disorder, and that the unanimous opinion of the freedmen is that under slavery their interests were safer than at present, and that they can see no benefit they have received from the government in allowing firearms to be substituted for the lash, and having their lives valued by the court as worth but the sum of five dollars, the fine usually imposed on all whites guilty of aggravated offences against the blacks.

—Dispatches at Gen. Howard's headquarters state that Col. A. J. Ripley, 14th New Hampshire Volunteers, who had settled on a plantation near Savannah, has fallen a victim to the chaotic condition of things. His supposed murderers stole from the Colonel some mules not long since, were pursued, captured, and taken to the city by the Colonel, and turned over to the civil authorities, who immediately released them upon some legal quibble, without even the semblance of a trial, the culprits at the time swearing they would not only steal his mules, but be the means of his death. They have fulfilled their threat. The Colonel was brutally murdered on the night of the 20th, and as yet the civil authorities have taken no action to investigate or punish the assassins. The dispatch closes with an application for restoring martial law.

—An Augusta (Ga.) dispatch of the 2d ult. stated that a negro had been burned at the stake near Macon. The following order from Gen. Woods throws a little light on the affair:

Headquarters Departm't of the South, Macon, Ga., July 5, 1866.

General Orders No. 8. It has been officially reported to the Commanding General that one Pompey O'Bannon, confined at Toombsborough, Wilkinson county, Georgia, upon a charge of murder, was taken from legal custody by a mob, and put to death with inhuman atrocity.

The facts shown by investigation are that O'Bannon was the probable accomplice of William —— (now a fugitive) in the murder of Mrs. Louisa Rollins, and in murderous violence toward other members of the family; that he was taken from the jail at this place upon a warrant, and delivered to the Deputy Sheriff in said county; that he was then seized by a mob of 200 or 300 persons of Toombsborough and vicinity, and, by their unanimous vote, was chained to a tree, and, after his ears had been cut off, was tortured to death by burning.

These unlawful proceedings show that the civil authorities are unable to compel respect for even the forms of justice in said county. Therefore, as there is reason to believe that upon the apprehension of the supposed principal of O'Bannon, civilization will again be disgraced in a like manner, the transfer of the said William —— to said county, is hereby forbidden until executive guarantee is shown that due process of law will not be exceeded in his case.

By order of Brevet Maj.-Gen. Chas. R. Woods.
A. Ramsey Ninninger, Assist.-Adjt.-Gen.

ALABAMA.

The Mobile *Nationalist* gives an idea of how justice is administered in that city to colored people:

"Parties are arrested and thrown into the calaboose over night, and if, next morning, they have not been able to find some one who can prove their innocence, with a reckless indifference to what other people would call common decency, they are condemned and marched through the streets in the chain-gang. The idea generally prevails that the 'chain' is a fiction except in the case of dangerous characters, but this is a mistake. The 'gang' are placed in a row, with a large chain over their shoulders, and a smaller one leading from it to the ankle of each. In this style, men and boys—large numbers of whom are perfectly innocent of any offence against the law, and others only guilty of a petty ebullition of temper—are paraded through the streets."

LOUISIANA.

Surgeon E. S. Harris, in charge of the Freedmen's Hospital at New Orleans, forwards to headquarters the following report, appended to his regular monthly report, of cases admitted the day of the riot and treated for wounds received in that affray.

"Eighteen cases of contusions, principally head, face, lung and abdomen; 22 cases of incised wounds, inflictions of knives, hatchets, etc.; one punctured wound over right scalp. Total, 111."

This report closed on the 31st July.—Very many cases have been brought in since that date, which will not appear until the special report is made.

—*To the Editor of the N. Y. Tribune.*

Sir: As the late indiscriminate murder of Union men in New Orleans has convinced the Northern public that a malignant spirit still exists in "Rebeldom," and demonstrated that the brutal outrages, occasionally reported as having been committed at different points in the South, have not been *exaggerated cases* of rebel atrocity and barbarity, the following hitherto unpublished and unnoticed account of acts of violence, coming within the notice of the writer while on duty as an officer in the Freedmen's Bureau in Louisiana, will serve as another link in the chain of evidence, proving that the spirit of rebellion still prevails, and that the policy of President Johnson, in pardoning the leading rebels and restoring them to office, has only made them more violent in their dealings with Union men, and rendered the lives of the freedmen still more insecure.

Emile Bertrand, a teacher, employed by the Freedmen's Bureau, was taken by the chivalry in the Parish of Point Coupee, where he was teaching, and severely cowhided and his life threatened if he continued to teach a nigger school. This occurred in January last. Lieut. P. F. Burnham, formerly of the 8th Vermont Volunteers, having been mustered out of service, proceeded to Monroe, La., in February last for the purpose of opening a school. He called a meeting of the colored population. This was set upon by ruffians armed with pistols and knives, and several of the negroes were murdered and the Lieutenant barely escaped with his life, having received a cut with a knife, five inches in length, across the small of his back.

In August, 1865, Corp. J. M. Wallace, of the 47th Ind. Vet. Vols., while on duty with the Freedmen's Bureau at Shreveport, La., was kidnapped and brutally murdered, and in the same parish, during the same month, the Provost-Marshal of Freedmen reported "that five freedmen had been killed, and that there were sixty well-authenticated cases of assault upon the persons of the freedmen; that *bodies of the freedmen were found hanging upon the trees and floating in Red River.*"

In January last, Charles Colton, formerly a Lieutenant of the 8th Vermont, reported "that while travelling in Alabama on business, and in citizen dress, Dr. —— informed him 'that he had lately rid himself of several of the negroes upon his plantation.' Said the doctor, 'It is an easy matter. They go to the village, but do not return, and nobody knows anything about them; one of my neighbors disposed of four of his in this way.'"

Capt. Marshall Twitchell of Tounshend, Vt., who was agent of the Bureau in Claiborne Parish, La., reported the maltreatment of two ladies who were sent to his parish to teach, and said "that the parties who had engaged to board them, refused, because they had been threatened that if they did so, their house would be burned down, and that it was not safe for him to ride over the whole of his parish, and that he could not protect the teachers." Lieut. Chas. N. Rockafellow, 48th U. S. C. I. A. A. Q. M. of the Bureau at Shreveport, La., reported "that it became necessary to station a guard at the residence of the teachers, to prevent their being brutally treated." An attempt was made in March last to lynch Gen. Sypher, formerly Colonel of the 20th Rhode Island Heavy Artillery (colored). Having left the service, he, in company with Gen. Fuller, another ex-United States Army officer, leased plantations upon Bayou Boeuf, and Gen. Sypher hired some laborers at Plaquemine, La., and was expected to land several miles below the village from an evening boat, and take the laborers to his plantation. A mob gathered to lynch him upon the landing of the steamer; but as business in New Orleans prevented his arrival, he escaped.

Gen. Sypher informed me that he and Gen. Fuller considered it necessary to arm the hands upon his place for their personal protection. Our Northern men adopt the same rule. Col. Frisbie hired the men of his regiment before the order was issued prohibiting the black soldiers from purchasing their arms from the government, and as his laborers have the Enfield rifles which they bore in the army, he keeps up a guard upon his plantation, and drills his men regularly. In Louisiana, the freedmen are now left entirely to the mercy of their old masters. The Freedmen's Bureau is powerless.

What can an officer do toward enforcing order in a parish fifty miles long and from five to twenty wide, without a single soldier to assist him, and with the possible assurance from headquarters that he cannot have any military force? Capt. H. R. Pease, agent at Monroe, La., reported "that a planter told him to go to hell with his orders." The Captain went to New Orleans for a military force, but could not obtain even a Corporal's guard. I repeat the Freedmen's Bureau, as at present constructed, is powerless, and the freedmen are defenceless, and Union men at the mercy of traitors. Said the editor of the New Orleans *Tribune*, the organ of the blacks in Louisiana, himself a colored man, "The government protects us, and how? President Johnson appoints Provisional Governors, and allows them and their successors to organize a militia in the South. This militia search the dwellings of the black man, and rob him of his arms. The Constitution guarantees to all citizens the right to the use of arms; but the black man cannot exercise this right."

This is the protection which President Johnson gives us, "such as vultures give to lambs, covering and devouring them." Again, the white soldier, upon being mustered out, is allowed to purchase the arms he has borne in the service; but the President issues an order which deprives the black man of this privilege.

Facts like the above have a language which is too plain to be misunderstood. Comment is unnecessary. W. B. Stickney,
Late Lieutenant U. S. A., of the Freedmen's Bureau of La.
Leyden, Mass., Aug. 7, 1866.

TEXAS.

A Washington correspondent of the Charleston *News* (rebel) says:

"An officer who formerly belonged to the staff of Maj.-Gen. Butler was appointed to visit Texas and observe the condition of affairs there. He has just returned and has made his report at the White House. How the man got the appointment is not plain. The President must have been acquainted with his Radical bias, and reluctance to make any but an evil report. I have heard something of the report, though it is not published yet, and may not be. He gives a revolting and horrible account of the state of society in Texas, political and social. He represents the whole mass of the population as hostile to the Union, to the Federal government, and to all people of the loyal States. He states that, wherever he was, they killed six negroes a day. No one could walk or ride about anywhere in the State without being killed or insulted, if he was not a known and recognized rebel and secessionist.

PUBLIC OPINION AT THE SOUTH.

NEGRO DEPENDENCY.

The Richmond chivalry, before Gen. Terry's recent order was issued, were sadly troubled at the independent attitude of some of their freedmen. The *Whig* said:

"The negroes who insult this community by military organizations, drills and parades, and by incendiary gatherings, harangues and resolves, should remember that they are dependent upon the white people of Richmond for every morsel of bread that goes into their mouths, and for every house, hut or cellar that shelters them and their families. If these things go on, we shall advise that a full list be made out of the names of all who take part in any such proceedings, for publication in the papers, and shall call upon the good people of Richmond not to give employment, even to the blacking of a boot, to any one whose name is embraced in the list, and not to rent so much as a dog-kennel to any one of them for protection from the coming blast of Winter. If they choose to insult, to irritate and endanger the peace of the community from whom they receive nothing but kindness, we shall do our part to see that they are not allowed to remain in that community. We speak now for their good more than that of their late masters, who will know how to protect themselves should an emergency arise."

THE REBEL IDEAL OF A FREE STATE GOVERNOR.

The Wilmington (N. C.) *Dispatch* says:

"The Philadelphia *News* has published a record of Mr. Clymer, the Democratic candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania.

"We gather from the record that Mr. Clymer, from the day that the Confederates crossed over at Green Castle into the smiling Cumberland Valley, became an ardent, avowed sympathizer with the 'traitors,' and an ardent supporter of the 'rebellion.' In other words, he became a so-called Copperhead, as in fact he had always been before, and refused to render aid in resisting the invasion. Mr. Clymer is also now ready to take these 'traitors' by the hand, and to assist them to assert their privileges under the government.

"Now, in our humble opinion, all these things are the very best indications that could be given us that Mr. Clymer deserves to be Governor of Pennsylvania."

A NEW VIEW OF MILITARY DESPOTISM.

There is a paper in Texas called the *Ranger*, in which military despotism is declared to be an interference with the right of a white man to whip a negress. The *Ranger* thus states the case, from which it draws its novel conclusion:

"Last week a squad of Yankee soldiers was sent here from Millican to arrest a young man named Forrest (brother of Gen. Forrest), for giving a negro wench a decent and deserved whipping. It appears that she was very insolent to the lady to whom she was hired, and this young man, who was a boarder in the house, properly protected the lady by giving this abusive nigger a merited punishment. She went to her brother Yanks and made her report, and instead of giving her a whipping and sending her back, they gave her every encouragement and protection. *God grant that our poor down-trodden State may soon be free from the iron heel of military despotism.*"

A Slander Nailed.—Mr. E. A. Hathaway was the Democratic candidate for Judge in Davies county, Kentucky, at the recent election, and we presume is chosen. He came near being beaten, however, by a report set afloat by some adversary that he had not been true to the rebel cause in the late struggle. But Mr. Hathaway met the calumny promptly and squarely in a circular, wherein he says:

"I brand with falsehood a report set in circulation, which the article below will show to be as *malicious* as *mean*, and as *false* as *foundationless*. By some one, it is needless to say *who*, it has been reported that I deserted the Southern army and persuaded my sons to do likewise. Read the article of one who had the opportunity to know my feelings for the South, and my fidelity to her cause, and then decide for yourselves whether I am worthy of that suffrage of which my *generous* opponents are endeavoring to rob me."

A certificate to the same effect follows Mr. Hathaways's card. We expect to hear that it proved effective.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

The Chicago *Republican* gives the following version of Gen. Dix, amended by Johnson: "If any man attempts to haul down the American flag, ask him if he will accept a 'national situation!'"

WHEN I AM GONE.

Keep not love's garland for my bier;
Can closed eyes view the offering dear,
Or dead lips kiss thy falling tear,
When I am gone?

Keep not love's flowers to strew the sod;
Can fragrance bless earth's kindred clod,
Whose ransomed spirit rests with God,
When I am gone?

O, give my yearning heart its meed!
Fill its deep void of aching need,
With love, in thought, and word, and deed!
Ere I am gone.

Then soft-winged memories, fond and dear,
An angel guard shall hover near,
To bless thee at my grave and bier,
When I am gone.

REMARKABLE CHOLERA CURE.

592 CASES TREATED—NO DEATHS.

All the medical cholera schools use camphor in their treatment of cholera, and its value has been admitted on all sides, yet it has always failed to effect the desired cure, unless the experience of Dr. Rubini should prove an exception. The "saturated spirits of camphor" used by this eminent Neapolitan physician consists, as we learn from a correspondent of the London *Star*, of equal parts, by weight, of camphor and spirits, and to the power thus obtained he attributes his success in the treatment of the disease. The ordinary spirits of camphor consists of one part by weight of camphor to nine parts of spirits of wine, while the homœopathic preparation is made by mixing one of camphor to five of the spirits of wine. The quantity of camphor which water will take up is small, and to obtain the "saturated spirits of camphor of Rubini," it is necessary to distil spirits of wine, and get rid of so much of its water as will bring it to 60 degrees over proof, in which condition it will dissolve and hold in solution its own weight of camphor.

With this "saturated spirits af camphor" Dr. Rubini treated in Naples 592 cases of Asiatic cholera without the loss of a single patient. Of these 592 cases 200 were cured in the Royal Almshouse, 11 in the Royal Poor-house, and 166 in the 3d Swiss Regiment of Wolff. That the 377 cases treated by Dr. Rubini in these public institutions were all genuine cases of Asiatic cholera, and some "terribly severe," and that all recovered, the evidence of the following distinguished individuals, with their official seals attached, sufficiently attests: Il Generale Governatore Ricci; Il Maggiore Commandante Nicola Forni; Il Capitano Commandante Carlo Sodero; Generale Commandante Filepo Rucci, Colonel Eduardo Wolff. The method of cure is as follows: "When a man is seized with cholera he should at once," says Rubini, "lie down, be well wrapped in blankets, and take every five minutes four drops of the saturated tincture of camphor. In very severe cases the dose ought to be increased to from 5 to 20 drops every five minutes. In the case of a man of advanced age, accustomed to take wine and spirits, where the drug given in drops has no effect, give a small coffee-spoonful every five minutes, and in a very short time the coveted reaction will occur. Ordinarily, in two, three or four hours, abundant perspiration will come out, and then cure will follow." "The preventive method," writes Dr. Rubini, "is this: Let those who are in good health, while living in accordance with their usual habits, take every day five drops of the saturated spirits of camphor upon a small lump of sugar (water must never be used as a medium, or the camphor will become solid and its curative properties cease), and repeat the dose three or four times a day. Spices, aromatics, herbs, coffee, tea and spirituous liquors should be avoided."

Here, then, we have as strong a *prima facie* case made out as can well be conceived in favor of the preventability and curability of the Asiatic cholera and that by a remedy which is at once portable and inexpensive, and which all sections of the medical profession have heretofore employed, and can, therefore, raise no objection to employing again in increased potency.

The Grave of Humboldt.—We rode to Humboldt's grave, the other day. I don't know that pilgrims can properly ride in droskies, or I should say we made a pilgrimage there. It is a few miles from the city, and in a lovely spot, surrounded with evergreen trees. In the inclosure, where rest the two brothers and some other members of their family, is a statue of Hope, by Thorwaldsen, surmounting a tall marble column; and everything around seems suitable and fitting. The names are on the column, and the grave of Alexander Von Humboldt has a simple and very small headstone with his name thereon. One has to leave the carriage road to find the grave, and our driver, who did not know exactly where the spot was, stopped a peasant who was passing, and asked him if he knew where the grave of Humboldt was. You should have seen the look of utter ignorance on the man's face as he turned to us, repeating the name "Humboldt?" and then, as if possibly he might find out, he asked, "*What was his first name?*" And this was within a stone's throw of the spot where rested the remains of the great German scholar, the great world-scholar.—*German Correspondent Commonwealth.*

THE BRIBED LEGISLATOR.

The man who is unfaithful to a trust,
However small, is vitally unjust;
And he who is unjust in little things
Would be a traitor in a court of kings.
Present a bribe, and down his virtue falls
In courts, in camps, or legislative halls!
The bribed apostate! Blot his hateful name
From each and every scroll of honest fame!
Let no man trust him—none forbear to shed
Contempt and deep dishonor on his head!
Let scorn her finger point with bitter gibes,
And say, behold the consequence of bribes!
Let guiltless children, as he passes by,
Shrink from his touch and shudder at his eye,
Let lovely woman loathe him with disgust,
And spurn him as a reptile in the dust!
And whilst he lives, let infamy alone
Claim this Bribed Legislator as her own
Until he dies and sinks into the grave,
To poison worms that feast upon the knave;
There 'midst the storm let hideous Furies foul
Hold mighty revels and in concert howl!
Let hissing serpents make that spot their home!
And be the watchful guardians of his tomb!
And when he goes to hell let Satan stare,
And ask him "Who the devil sent HIM THERE?"
And feel the insult deep and keen,
To see a fiend pre-eminently mean
'Mid better devils rudely ushered in,
A foul, appalling prodigy of sin.

Conway.

Dr. A. P. Dostie was nominated by President Johnson about five months ago, at the request of Gov. Hahn, Surveyor of the city of New Orleans. His name was withdrawn by the President, at the request of the rebels, and the present incumbent, Mr. Tom Parker (Southern), was nominated and confirmed. Dr. Dostie, at the commencement of the rebellion, was run out of the city by the rebel, J. T. Monroe (a rebel police official) acting as Mayor. He returned soon after Gen. Butler took possession of the city. His life was openly threatened ever since he returned. He repeatedly remarked that he should be slain by the rebels, and looked upon Monroe and his myrmidons as the instruments of vengeance. He said he preferred to die for his country to witnessing its disgrace under the coalition policy.

It is stated as a striking instance of the forethought displayed in the Prussian military preparations, that not only had the War Office obtained the exact measurements of the Saxon railway bridges, but had actually had the timber required for their reconstruction already prepared and fitted before the begining of the war. As soon, therefore, as the Saxons had destroyed them, three hundred carpenters were sent off from Berlin with the necessary materials, and had nothing more to do than to put them together.

If one should give me a dish of sand, and tell me there were particles of iron in it, I might look for them with my clumsy fingers, and be unable to detect them; but let me take a magnet and sweep through it, and, how it would draw to itself the most invisible particles by the mere power of attraction! The unthankful heart, like my finger in the sand, discovers no mercies! but let the thankful heart sweep through the day, as the magnet finds the iron, so it will find in every hour some heavenly blessings; only the iron in God's sand is gold.—*O. W. Holmes.*

The fortunate inventor of the explosive material used in the Prussian cartridge is kept under guard to prevent him from imparting the secret of its preparation, which is only known to him. He'll be glad that this cruel war is over.

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